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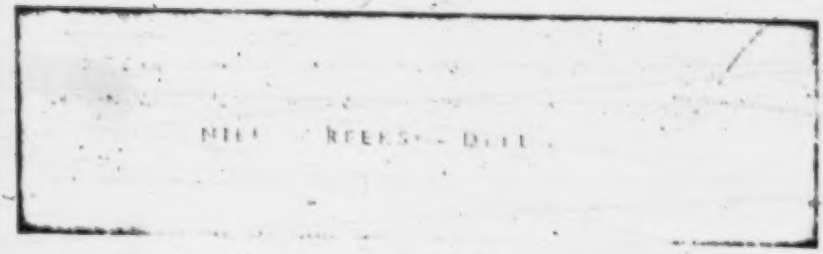

RITUAL PURIFICATION OF A BALINESE TEMPLE

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JACOBA HOOYKAAS-VAN LEEUWEN BOOMKAMP

N.V. NOORD-HOLLANDSCHE UITGEVERS MAATSCHAPPIJ - AMSTERDAM - 1961

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RITUAL PURIFICATION OF A BALINESE TEMPLE

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BY

JACOBA HOOYKAAS-VAN LEEUWEN BOOMKAMP

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN, AFD. LETTERKUNDE

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My husband helped me with texts, notes and proof reading.

SPELLING

Ch as in church; j as in jam; w throughout and never v; semivocals w and y.

[p. 3]

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Ritual purification constitutes a predominant element in Balinese religious concepts. Holy water is the most important means for achieving this ritual purification. In addition to holy water other substances and materials are used, mostly leaves, to which are ascribed the power of driving away evil.

The instrument used for ceremonial purification with holy water, the Balinese holy water sprinkler, is called in Balinese *(ĕ)lis*. The first part of this study is concerned with this intricately fashioned water sprinkler while the second part comprises a discussion of the *èlèh-èlèh padudusan*, purificatory objects made from wood, bamboo and terracotta.

I.

THE LIS

(holy water sprinkler)

In the course of studying Balinese religious manuals used by the Balinese priests I found numerous *mantra lis*, hymns of praise to the *lis*, often of considerable poetic quality and interesting as reflections of Balinese religious concepts. Before commenting on these hymns of praise I will first describe the form of the *lis* itself and its component parts.[1]

I hope to demonstrate with this description and with the texts of the relevant *mantras* that the *lis* is regarded both as a living being — named in the texts *Sang Janur Kuning*, Lord Yellow Green, by analogy with the tint of the young palm leaves from which it is made — and as a magical tree enchanted by Batara Siwa. The tree aspect is made evident with the placing of a replica of a dove, plaited from strips of leaves, on the lis.

Before discussing the form of the *lis* as it is made in Ubud I will mention the various types and corresponding names of the holy water sprinkler.

The most usual type of *lis* is known as *lis isuh-isuh*, the name relating to the strewing of *isuh-isuh* (also called *tĕpung tawar*), a mixture of *dapdap* leaves, ashes, and rice, by the women following behind those whose function it is to perform the sprinkling with the *lis* during the purification of the temple. The women strewing the *isuh-isuh* also carry an uncooked egg, repeatedly raising it in the direction of the 'seats' of the gods which are to be purified for the reception of the invited deities. The *lis isuh-isuh* is also referred to as *lis tĕgtĕg*, the term *tĕgtĕg* denoting the offering of thread. Chinese coins *(kèpèng)*, flowers, and *sirih* leaves associated with the purification ceremony.

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[1] Cf. J. L. Swellengrebel *Een Vorstenwijding op Bali* (naar materiaal verzameld door de heer H. J. E. F. Schwartz), Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, II. Appendix I, Pl. III-V, Leiden, Brill, 1947. The *lis* from which Swellengrebel had drawings made before the war is, in the most important respects, identical with the *lis* which I saw in 1959 in Ubud (about seven miles from Gianjar and from Pajangan where Swellengrebel's assistant was resident).

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Mostly it is only the *lis isuh-isuh* or *lis tegteg* that is used for sprinkling the holy water, but occasionally a second *lis* is also used. Although serving the same function as the *lis isuh-isuh*, this second *lis* is of a completely different form and is designated by another name. It is the *lis sanjata* formed from the symbols of the *nawa sanga* the 'weapons' or emblems of the gods.

In addition, there is the *pĕbuhu*[2], a *lis isuh isuh* in miniature, but comprising only certain of the features of the *lis isuh isuh*[3]. The *pĕbuhu* is included amongst the *ŭtĕh-ŭtĕh pudukusan*, ritual objects on the high platform from which the *pĕdanda* (Brahman priest) officiates.

Structure of the lis isuh-isuh

Some forty odd features are incorporated in the design of the *lis*, some being forms cut out of palm leaf, others being woven or plaited from palm leaf strips. To watch the making of a *lis* is to witness a wonder of artistic skill. The fact that almost all the offerings are designated by terms that are etymologically old led Goris to conclude that this art was an indigenous cultural element of great antiquity[4]. In general I find it possible to agree with that opinion, although this art would have been also applied to the making of offerings which expressed concepts absorbed from alien culture patterns. The symbols of the *nawa sanga* are an eloquent example of the absorption of external cultural influences. It is sometimes possible to trace a Hindu influence even where a purely Balinese term is used to designate an offering. This point must not be overlooked. It is significant that the *tukang bantĕn*, the woman who prepares the offerings, is usually the daughter of a Brahman priest. If this was the custom in past centuries it is obvious how new motifs could have been introduced into the traditional art of making offerings.

The actual making of the offerings was demonstrated to me by a *pĕdanda's* daughter, who had learnt the art from her mother, an ordained priestess, and who earns her livelihood as *tukang bantĕn* at temple festivals and ceremonies in the houses of the nobility.

To cut out the required shapes from the young palm leaf she used a large kitchen knife, each movement of the knife being away from her. The leaves fashioned to represent limbs were also partly plaited into the required forms.

The drawings accompanying this article were made by Ida Bagus Anom, a professional artist at Ubud and a Brahman by birth but not ordained, from parts of the *lis* prepared by his sister-in-law, who is also a Brahman.

[2] Cf. Swellengrebel, op. cit.

[3] These components are *luwut luwuh* (13), *luwut ngah* (14), *lilit linting* (1.c.), *pahan sampi* (19), and *sapuh* (23), the *sapuh* being duplicated.

[4] R. Goris and P. L. Dronkers, *Bali*, published by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 1953?

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The procedure she followed in fashioning these parts was slightly different from that followed by my informant.

1 *tangkur* breast bone, to which
2 *iga* ribs, are attached with a section of the central fibre of a palm leaf. This *tangkur-iga*, which is itself an independent offering made both as a dough-cake and as a terracotta modelling, occurs also amongst the *ɨtɨh-ɨtɨh pududusan*, the ritual objects discussed in the second section of this article. Both the dough-cake and the terracotta modelling must derive their significance from the *lis*. An illustration of the dough-cake *tangkur-iga* is given by Swellengrebel [5].
3 *basang uwah* old belly, less rigidly plaited than
4 *basang nyuda* young belly, of which the zigzag pattern is more pointed.
5 *pungsɨd* navel, represented by five folds in the leaf. The *basang uwah*, *basang nyuda* and *pungsɨd* are attached to each other at the base in the same way as the *tangkur-iga*.
6 *ati* liver, an elaborately cut out design.

7 *bulungkan* loins, represented by a cluster of four loops (not shown in illustration).
8 *jajaringan* omentum (not always included; not illustrated).
9 *tangan* two arms, plaited in a realistic form.
10 *intud* two knees, plaited and creased in the middle.
11 *tulang gihing* spine, plaited in a simple symmetric pattern.
12 *tinggɨk* neck, simply a cut strip of leaf.
13 *laŏat buah* 'shadow of the fruit' (betel nut), on the one side, and
14 *laŏat nyuh* 'shadow of the coconut' on the other side of the
15 *lilit linting* rigid, symmetrically plaited form.

The *lilit linting* warrants some comment. There are various offerings designated by this name. It is possible that the term means 'tightly entwined or embraced'. The terracotta *lilit linting* included amongst the *ɨtɨh-ɨtɨh pududusan* is of particular interest. This terracotta *lilit linting* recalls the Siwa-Sakti symbol discussed at length by Avalon in his 'Serpent Power' [6], the snake Kundalini twined around Siwa's *linggɑ*. But instead of the prescribed three-and-a-half coils of the Tantric symbol, the 'snake' of the *lilit linting* — if indeed it is a snake — makes only three or less. It is certainly not impossible that the Tantric symbol has been preserved in the *lilit linting* although in the sacred *lontar* texts the concept of Kundalini as a snake has apparently been lost. This symbolism is only becoming known again — and then only

[5] G. Swellengrebel, op. cit. Pl. VIII.
[6] A. Avalon, *The Serpent Power*, 8th edition, Madras, 1953.

[See pp. 43 – 47. -- Analyst]

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to the few students of the *lontars* in the towns — through contemporary theosophic writings.[7]

There are two reasons, apart from its striking resemblance to the Indian *yantra*, for considering the *lilit linting* as a Siwa-Sakti motif.

Firstly, as a component of the *lis*, the *lilit linting* is in the lower part of the body of the holy water sprinkler.

The second reason is that the earthenware object is sometimes used by the market women 'to awaken the desire of the buyers'. Perhaps Kundalini is playing here her old rôle.

16 *inèb* midriff; the word *inèb* means door; the word *pintu* was also given as the designation of the midriff of the *lis*; the illustration brings to mind the divided temple gate known as *chandi bintar*, and it is hardly surprising to find this part of the *lis* referred to by Swellengrebel op. cit., as *marga* (way, roadway).

17 *tangga mènèk* This 'ascending stairway' and the following

18 *tangga tuhun* 'descending stairway' are distinguishable the one from the other by the respective up and downward direction of the points cut of the leaf. It is evident that the *tangga mènèk* and *tangga tuhun* constitute a most important element of the *lis* in view of the fact that the same feature is also included in the *(pè)buhu*, the simplified *lis*, and in view of the special references in the *mantras* to the stairways, in certain *mantras* described as silver and golden.

19 *jahan* ladder, also designated as *jahan sasapi*, this name denoting the small figure of a swallow *(sasapi)* cut out in the leaf.

These foregoing elements of the *lis* are those which can be considered as integral with the *lusung* (belly) of the *lis*. Strictly speaking, the arms should not be included in this group, but they are technically in the same category, being made also from one single leaf. Frequently the arms are omitted from the *lis*.

The following elements (20–32) are distinct from the foregoing in that each is made from three leaves and each has on the upper part a face (*mamata*, having eyes) above which the strips of leaf — the actual sprinkler — form, as it were, the headdress.

(The features listed under Nos 16–19 are transitional elements as they are also *mamata*).

For the making of those features of the *lis* fashioned from three leaves — the young coconut palm leaves being about a yard long with a strong central fibre along which the two halves form an angle of 120° — the procedure is to attach the leaves to each other with the centre fibres touching so that there is an identical pattern on three sides.

[7] A Balinese friend gave me as a parting gift a book that I had seen in a book shop in Dènpasar, *Kundalini yoga*, by Swami Sivananda, translated (into Indonesian) by Kwee Liong Tian) Malang, no date.

[See P.P. 48–49 for illustrations — ANALYST.]

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20 *balung* bones, a complicated, cut out design in which various elements can be distinguished, notably —
uwat muscles, indicated by parallel slits in the leaf;
balung ĕmpat four bones;
balung bolong bones with holes, vertebrae.

These twenty components make up the anthropomorphic aspect of the *lis*. Next come those components representing, for the most part, trees to which is ascribed the power of warding off evil. The leaves of these trees are also encountered in offerings associated with other purificatory ceremonies.

21 *anchak* representing a tree of which the leaves may only be used in offerings to the Sun God. These offerings are placed on the *palinggihan dèwa-dèwi*, the 'seat' to which the Sun God and his *sakti* are invited to descend.

22 *bingin* an elaborately cut out pattern representing the '*waringin*' tree and comprising
sampi swallow,
don leaves,
woh fruit,
sinuging hanging branch roots.

The *waringin* is generally regarded as the most sacred of trees. The previously mentioned offerings made in terracotta and in dough include a *bingin* with a bird figure decorating the top. The offerings made in terracotta, palm leaf, and dough have an identical significance.

23 *sapuh* broom.

24 *panulak sinjata* 'protection against weapons', the character of this element being emphasized by the sharp points around the bottom and the top.

25 *kayu tulak* } artistically designed patterns representing types of
26 *kayu slisih* } fern.

These two elements also occur as finely cut leaves amongst the subsidiary offerings accompanying the *lis*.

27 *ambĕngan alang-alang* leaves.

28 *pidang lĕpas* grass stalks.

In his description of Balinese rites Van Eerde[8] reports the custom of burying in the soil or stone foundation of the household shrines an earthenware pot in which is placed a miniature silver or gold casket *(chachupu)* containing five metal plates inscribed with mystic letters *(pripih)*, manifestations of the gods *(raga sang kawitan)* the pripih being enclosed in a wrapping of 9 *alang-alang* leaves *(munchuk*

[8] J. C. van Eerde, '*Hindu-Javaansche en Balische Eeredienst*', Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, LXV, pp. 16–17, The Hague, 1911.

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ambĭngan). 7 grass stalks *(munchuk padang lĭpas)*. 7 tufts of cotton from the *rèmbiga* plant *(kapuk mĭnduri)* bound round with the white-black-red thread of the gods *(bĕnang tri datu)*.

20 *kukurungan* cage, in which the offering maker places a *kukur*, the figure of a dove. Sometimes this cage is not made and then the dove is placed in the *lis*.

30 *tulung* a pattern of three, four or five equally spaced rings of leaves, one on top of the other. I was unable to establish the meaning of the word *tulung*.

31 *lad sumbah* This component could be called an adoration symbol. The meaning of the word *lad* is here not understandable. The figure is an intricately cut out pattern comprising
tlapakan footsole,
kuku nails,
batis foot,
lad ? and
sumbah posture of obeisance, the *sumbah* being expressed by a leaf so folded as to suggest hands placed together before the face.

32 *kuku n kambing* goat's hoof. As a component of the *lis asah asah* it is made from a whole *busung*; as a component of the *lis sanjata* it is made from strips of leaf folded into a pentagonal shape about one inch thick (not illustrated).

It need hardly be pointed out that from village to village there are endless variations on the same basic pattern.

These 32 components, topped by the finely cut strips of palm leaf constitute the *lis* as a holy water sprinkler. The only addition required is two Chinese coins, designated as *buah* (fruit) which are tied on to it.

The *lis* must now be completed as an offering. The nimble fingers of the offering maker begin weaving the *tipats* in which the glutinous rice is cooked and kept when prepared. These are called

33 *tipat tulud* named by analogy with the *tulud*, an oblong piece of wood with a handle attached that is used for sweeping away refuse. This form is also employed for the similarly named offering made of dough, in both instances to symbolize the banishment of the forces of evil. In some villages a tuft of the 'hair' of the *lis* is placed in the *tipat tulud* after the ceremonial cutting of the hair. In other villages food is placed in this *tipat*. Both the *tipat tulud* and the *tipat pusuh* are cut open during the ceremony of the consecration of the *lis* preceding the actual sprinkling of the holy water with the *lis*. This ceremony will be described later.

34 *tipat pusuh* navel *tipat*, round shaped.

Next the components forming the belly are bound together and then those components which are *mamata* (with a face). The thick bundle

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formed by these 34 components is bound together with new strips of palm leaf after the

35 *tatakan* pedestal has been attached.

These additional strips of palm leaf represent items of apparel and are designated as

36 *kambĕn bătĕn* undergarment
37 *kambĕn di atas* outer garment (not shown in the illustration)
38 *sabuk* waistband, plaited in a simple pattern (not shown in the illustration)
39 *cĕrik* breast covering, cut out of leaf and sometimes duplicated.

The fashioning of the clothing allows full scope for the imagination of the offering maker who will sometimes encircle the *lis* with a leaf from which a hole is cut out, named

40 *jit* (bottom).

It is obvious that the *lis* is regarded as a deity or as the seat of a deity from the fact that, after binding all the components together and after arranging the 'hair' and finally tying a strip of leaf around the entire figure, the offering maker cuts out

41 *sasah* face, a *chili*-shaped offering * (not shown in the illustration).
42 *dingding* ! together with
43 *payung* parasol,
which are 'stitched' on to the top of the *lis*, and then goes on to weave
44 *balé gading* a white or gold-coloured pavilion — for as a deity the *lis* must have a fitting residence — which is also called *timpal lis*, companion of the *lis*.

783* 705 532 [304]

The *balé gading* is encountered in numerous Balinese rituals. At a teeth-filing ceremony it is placed on the platform where the operation is carried out. The youths and girls whose teeth are to be filed first make a *sesahab* before the *balé gading* for 'Kumara and Kumari and the *widiadaris*' as it was explained to me.

During the celebration of the *galungan* festival, the *pènyor*, the decorated bamboo poles erected on such occasions, have at the top a *balé gading* from which hangs a *lamak*, a woven panel. The *pènyor* is the standard symbol for Gunung Agung, Great Mountain, and is usually decorated with rice ears and a coconut. The *lamak* is invariably embellished with a *chili* design the symbol of the Rice Goddess, and often with patterns based on a mountain motif. I consider the *lamak* to be a female symbol constituting a counterpart to the *pènyor* as the male symbol. Together the

[076]

* Miguel Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1937, repeatedly reprinted.

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pèngyor and the *lamak* represent the divine couple Mountain and Lake Gunung Agung and Dèwi Danu. The *balé gading* on the *pengyor* is a bridal pavilion for Gunung Agung and Dèwi Danu, just as the *balé gading* at the teeth-filing ceremony is a bridal pavilion for Kumara and Kumari. In the Smaradahana [10], the 12th century old Javanese epic, the *gṛiha danta* (XXVI.12) or metri causa, *mandira gading* (XXVII.1), denotes the 'pavilion for the daughter of the Lord of the Mountain' to which Manmatharipu (= Siwa) betook himself, there to lay with her. Significantly, the *pèngyor* is also designated as *pèngyor pènganten* and the *balé gading* is also named *sanggah pènganten* (nuptial shrine).

In fashioning the *balé gading* the offering maker begins by cutting out the rectangular floor and then four 'pillars', called *suda-mala* (cleansed of impurity), to support the roof which rises to an elaborately patterned point. Then she weaves two *tipat lèpas* (purification *tipats*), the larger one representing the bride and the smaller one representing the bridegroom. Obviously the *balé gading* of the *lis* is also a bridal pavilion. Next she cuts out a miniature basket, the *longlong lalasan*, the house of the snake, as it was explained to me. However, as far as I know the offering maker does not make any representation of the snake itself.

The *longlong lalasan* is placed between the *tipat muani*, the bridegroom and the *tipat luh*, the bride, and the contents of the *balé gading* are fastened in position.

What is the significance of the snake between the bridal pair? Is the *longlong lalasan* a relic of an ancient tradition or is it merely an embellishment devised by the offering makers?

The *balé gading*, just as the *gṛiha danta* of the Smaradahana, must date back to a court tradition of Indian origin. Since the Smaradahana is essentially a Tantric text [11] there might seem to be grounds for assuming that the *longlong lalasan* is derived from the snake symbolism of the Tantric marriage ceremonies. The designs of modern Indian colour prints — such as those printed extensively in Bombay — depicting Siwa and Sakti, feature large and small snakes. The significance of the snake Kundalini, the Sakti symbol, in this connection is well known. However, much more data is needed before any attempt could be made to identify the snake between the bride and bridegroom in the *balé gading* with the Indian symbol.

In making the lis *isuh-isuh* the offering maker fashions the various components in a definite sequence, beginning with the belly. A definite sequence is also followed in the making of the *lis sanjata*. The offering maker begins by cutting the shapes of the emblems of the four directions.

[10] Text and translation by Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica III, Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia (Jakarta), 1933.

[11] J. H. Hooykaas van Leeuwen Boomkamp, *'Pre-Muslims Huwelijk op Java'*, Indonesië, X 2, 1957, pp. 109-136.

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first the *bajra*, thunderbolt with a bell, for the East, then the *gada* (club) for the South, *naga-pasa* (snake arrow) for the West, the *chakra* (discus) for the North, then the emblems for the intermediary directions, the *dupa* (incense bowl) for the South-east, the *moksala* (club) for the South-west, the *angkusa* (elephant goad) for the North-west, the *trisula* (trident) for the North east, and finally the *padma* (lotus) for the Centre.

The directions do not correspond to the points of the compass but conform to the Balinese orientation which places the North *(kaja)* in the direction of the mountains (Mount Meru) and the South *(klod)* in the direction of the sea, the location of the East *(kangin)* and the West *(kauh)* ranging accordingly. The offering maker did not know the names of the gods associated with the respective directions and she confused the *angkusa* and the *moksala*.

Nor was the artist who did the drawings of the weapons for me able to reproduce the form of the *angkusa*, the elephant goad with the curved tip, a symbol that occurs both in the *lis* and in a dough-cake that is made as an offering. In the example I saw the colours of the *nawa-sanga* were correct: white for the East, dark-red for the South, yellow for the West, and black for the North. The red *danda* (club) in the South being flanked by a light red *dupa* and an orange *moksala* for Rudra, and the black *chakra* of Wisnu in the North by a green *angkusa* of Sankara and a blue *trisula* of Sambu.

The *sinjata* I saw amongst the paraphernalia of a *dalang* also included an *angkusa* but the owner did not know the name of it [12].

The making of the *lis isuh isuh* and the *lis sinjata* and the *balé gading* is now finished, but, as the *payung* indicates, the *lis isuh isuh* is a deity, so that offerings must be made to it. The offering maker then cuts a *punyand* or *pupuput*, completion of the lis, which is a fan of palm leaf. At the base of the fan are placed two miniature baskets containing finely cut *don tulak* and *don sisih*, the two sorts of leaves which, in the form of replicas cut out of *busung*, were included amongst the components of the *lis*.

Finally there is added a *bantén mabrisih*, a purification offering, consisting of a palm leaf tray on which are placed five small baskets containing materials required for the toilet of the *lis isuh-isuh*: *sisig*, a brush for brushing the teeth; *minyak* oil for the hair; *masangling kunyit*, curcuma root, for chewing after the filing of the teeth; *ambuh*, ash (usually of rice

[12] Ritualistic texts in Bali, whether they emanate from the *griya* of the brahman *pedanda*, from the house of the *pemangku* or from the *sanggahwesia* of the exorcist priest, the *sanggahu* or *rsi bhujangga*, abound in *wedas* and *mantras* enumerating the gods, the directions of the compass designed to them, their colour and their *sinjata*; sometimes their goddess, *sakti* and vehicle are added. Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw in her paper "The Dikpālakas in ancient Java", BKI 111/4, 1955, pp. 356 384 studied the *nawa-sanga* and its gods, their mounts and attributes from archeological materials. Cf. also Swellengrebel, *Voordenrijding*, op. cit. 22 23.

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*783 stalks) for washing the hair; and *kĕmbang*, flowers for personal adornment.
778 The *lis* is then ready to fulfil its important ceremonial function [13].

The Ceremony of Sprinkling Holy Water

*783 The ceremony of *malis* and the reciting of the *mantra lis* constitute part
788 of the ritual performed by the *pamangku*, the *sudra* priest of the village or temple. However, I have also observed both Siwaite and Buddhist Brahman priests revering the *lis* and reciting the *mantra lis* after performing the ceremonial preparation of holy water.

At the commencement of the ceremony the *lis* is placed not directly in front of the priest together with the bell, incense bowl, and other paraphernalia, but a little to the rear of where he is seated. As soon as the gods are considered to be present and to grant holy water, at a signal from the priest the offering maker cuts the strips of leaf with which the *lis* is held in a doubled-up position. Then she snips off a tuft of the mass of *busung* strips forming the top; and after this ritual hair cutting she cuts open the *tipats* which contain symbolically food for the living being the *lis* has now become. The tuft of 'hair' is placed in the body of the *lis*, sometimes in the *tipat tulud* (33).

These preparations completed, the *lis* is handed to the priest who places it upright directly in front of him and recites the *mantra* while sprinkling it with holy water.

Next, a group of women assistants perform the ritual of purifying the temple from all forces of evil so that the priest can then present the offerings to the gods. The *lis* is first waved in the direction of the throne of the sun and then, in turn, toward the thrones of the other deities. Following this, the already mentioned ceremony of strewing *isuh-isuh* is performed the women proceeding around the three courtyards of the temple and coming finally to the outer entrance, there repeating the strewing of *isuh-isuh* in the direction in which the entrance faces.

[304] On several occasions I saw the ritual of *malis* also performed at house-
[354] hold ceremonies, such as those in connection with teeth-filing and at the celebration of the *nĕlu bulanin*, the festivity held when a child is three months old.

[13] Swellengrebel, op. cit., lists certain components of the *lis* which were included in the *lis* used at the consecration of the Prince of Gianjar in 1903, but which he did not see on any other occasion. These particular components were similarly
[649] not included in the *lis* which I saw. There is every reason to assume that these components would be made only for the consecration of a prince, particularly as the *talaga* (lake) figures amongst them, for the ritual bath takes place in a *talaga*. Cf. J. H. Hooykaas van Leeuwen Boomkamp '*Upon a White Stone under a Nagasari Tree*', Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, CXIII, 4, 1957, pp. 324-340.

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MANTRA LIS

*783 It is surprising how much imaginative power is expressed in the formulae
788 the priest pronounces on the Holy Water Sprinkler. It is addressed by the title Lord Yellow-Green, set down and equalled with the gods of the
[776] four cardinal directions, and in the end even with the highest god of the centre. A number of its parts are mentioned, preferably 'the ladder up', 'the ladder down', for the *lis* brings about contact with the invisible world. Above all, emphasis is laid on its purifying power, by which it delivers humanity from all stains. There it stands before us: like a *waringin*, with its massive foliage and aerial roots hanging down, like a true wishing tree, hung full with all that is fine and beautiful, desirable and brings good fortune. But it is also represented scourged by stormy winds, which sweep away all pollution.*

127 * In the years during which I have made a special study of the *lis* I copied 20 passages from 13 different MSS. A comparison of these extracts showed that the collection yielded eight different *mantras*. There were only single examples of three of these, listed below as V (G), VI (C) and VII (D). There were two versions each of I (RA), II (TH) and III (PE), five versions of IV (UMIWS), and six versions of VIII (KBLQJF), one of which was from a MS, now in the Leiden University Library, amongst those collected by Van der Tuuk nearly a century ago. The example listed as IX is a text I received from Krambitan (Tabanan) after I had left Bali.

List of Texts consulted

127 A Gagêlaran Pêmangku, issued by Dinas Agama Otonoom Daérah Bali, Dènpasar, 9 Djuli 1959, p. 8 I

113 B Kitab Sutji Kusuma Déwa (Gagêlaran Pêmangku) diasiin oleh I Gusti Ananda Kusuma, Pênêrbit Pustaka Balimas, Dènpasar-Bali, 1957 (and since reprinted) VIII

C–K and M–W are typewritten copies from *lontar*-texts in the library of palmleaf-manuscripts, founded in 1928 under the name of Kirtya Liefrinck–Van der Tuuk, now Gêdong Kirtya, Singaradja. The number is that given to the MS; l. stand for *lèmpir* = leaf.

C	Chandi-Dharma,	41,1.6b	VI
D	Dharma Pawayangan,	1610,1.16a	VII
E	Sangkul Putih,	420,1.7a	III
F	Sangkul Putih,	420,1.9b/10a	VIII
G	Siwa-Buda,	535,1.6	V
H	Kusuma Déwa,	1804,1.16a	II
I	Kusuma Déwa,	1804,1.74a	IV
J	Kusuma Déwa,	1804,1.91	VIII
K	Kusuma Déwa,	1920,1.67	VIII
L	Tingkah ing Pêmangku, Cod. Or. 4560, University Library, Leiden		VIII
M	Sangkul Pingé,	1298,1.4	IV
P	Kusuma Déwa Purana,	226,1.5a	III
Q	Kusuma Déwa Purana,	226,1.67	VIII
R	Kusuma Déwa Purana,	226,1.22	I
S	Kusuma Déwa Purana,	226,1.28b	IV
T	Tingkah ing Mungkah Parhyangan,	1106,1.7b	II
U	Tingkah ing Mungkah Parhyangan,	1106,1.27a	IV
W	Usana Jawa,	360,1.38	IV

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I

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1	Puniki tityang ngaturang	These Thy servant offers Thee.
2	"[ĕ]lis tĕgtĕg", "'lis pamang-gang",	"[ĕ]lis tĕgtĕg. "[ĕ]lis pamanggang",
3	busung maringgit lad-ladan,	young palm leaves cut in patterns,
4	"kuku n kambing", "talinga n pangĕngĕh",	"goat's hoof", "ear",
5	"tangga mĕnèk", "tangga tuhun",	"stairway upward", "stairway downward",
6	"waduk", "papusuhan", "tulud",	"belly", and "liver", and "sweeper",
7	(a)nuludang lara-pataka	to sweep away illness and sin
8	ning janma manusa punika,	from all human creatures;
9	Pukulun mangkin [ngaturang].	[these] Thy servant [offers].
10	Paduka Batara tumurun,	Deign to descend, O Lord,
11	(a)ngastrènin tirta kamandalu,	and purify with tirta kamandalu,
12	urip ing Batari Gangga,	the living essence of the Goddess Ganges,
13	winadahan kundi manik.	contained in the jewelled pot.

2 lis tĕgtĕg of 63; R pamanglang; neither of these words conveys an understandable meaning.
3 R busung ringgit lahad-lahad; this being an element of the sumbah figure.
4 A pangèngèh; neither of these words is known to me.
7 A anuludakĕn.
8 A punika is omitted.
12 R maka-urip. Batari Gangga = holy water, as is obvious from the hymns of praise to the Ganges recited by the padanda Siwa after the preparation of holy water. Cf *Sanskrit Texts from Bali, critically edited, with an introduction* by Sylvain Lévi, 1933, Oriental Institute, Baroda, GOS LXVII

II

14	Pukulun Hyang Brahma,	Thy lowly servant [addresses Thee], O God Brahma,
15	Hyang Mahadéwa, Hyang Wisnu, Hyang Siwa,	God Mahadéwa, God Wisnu, God Siwa,
16	déning kahula ngaturakĕn	Thy lowly servant offers Thee
17	tangga mas, tangga salaka,	a stairway of gold, a stairway of silver,
18	arona lalĕmĕs (cf 94),	[and] as leaves, fine fabrics from distant lands;
19	aturakĕna komala (cf 95),	[these and] costly stones are offered,

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20 angilangang lara-wigna — to banish suffering and obstacles,
21 angamputang tirta-yasa (cf 43, 71). — to destroy with tirta-yasa,
22 tirta mĕrta, sari tirta, — with tirta mĕrta, sari tirta,
23 maka-angilangang — [thereby] to banish
24 maka mala (cf 98) wisésa kabèh; — all impurity, all that is evil.
25 wastu sidi rastu hening. — May it be so. Fulfilment. Purity.

17 H sari ning preseden tanggá.
18 H aworta; T kaworta.
20 T angilu ikang.
21 22 three elegant terms for holy water.
23 H angilangang.
25 The Balinese consider the two Sanskrit words *siddhir/astu* as being *sidi rastu*; the phrase *Siwāya namah* becomes *Siwa ya nama(h)*, which may also be varied, when spoken or written, to *(Siwa) nama ya*.

III

26 \ P' Aung, yrang, yrang, sah.
/ E Ong, rang, hring, sah.
27 \ P' néwasak Parama-Siwa ya prata ya namah.
/ E déwasak -sa-ma-Siwa ya mĕrta ya namah.
28 \ P' aung yrang kpung ang ong mang.
/ E ong grang kamung ang ung mang.
29 \ P' aung, swatik priya lawadi mana.
/ E ong, swasti swaya sawasi namah.

The magic syllables recall the Sûrya-sewana formulas of the Siwaito priests cited by Levi, op. cit. The first two lines are the standard holy water incantation glorifying Parama-Siwa as the holy water.

IV

30 Ong Sang Janur Kuning, angadĕg sira; — Om, Lord Yellow-Green, be it Thy will to stand before me.
31 Tumurun Batara Siwa (. Brahma). — Descend, O Lord Siwa!
32 ilin klésa sĕbĕl kandĕl — May the defilements that besmirch us
33 (papa klésa) — be borne away by the stream.

30 W Sang is omitted.
31 U1 turun; S turunan. Brahma is mythologically and metrically awkward, but cp. below.
32 Ilin must stand for ilihĕn ilirĕn; the alternation of ilih and ilir also occurs in 97; cf also baru: wahu; I8 [ā]lis; W yis-lis.
33 The meaning is clear without these words which are metrically superfluous; S papa naraka pataka, also unnecessary for meaning, but at least in conformity with the metrical pattern.

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34 mawak [ĕ]lis, mawak tĕ[n]das, Lis with a body, lis with a head
35 ma[ha]wak Sang Aji Lasĕm; embodiment of a Prince of Lasĕm,
36 sidi rastu namah swaha. May there be fulfilment. Hail! Hail!

34 S This line is omitted, but S 36 reads mawak tĕndas, sidi rastu.
35 The legend of the Prince of Lasĕm is given in 'Dance and Drama in Bali', by Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies, Faber and Faber, London, 1938.
36 UMW sidi rastu ya namah swaha.

The following two *mantra lis*, both with a markedly similar wording, and also corresponding rather closely to that of IV, occur in Yama-tattwa K 2326.

Mantra ngaturang lis (l. 36). *Iki mantra lis* (l. 10b).

Om sang Janur Kuning, Ih sang Janur Kuning,
ngadĕg Siwa Brahma (cf. 31), turunan Siwa Brahma,
ĕlis papa klésa, ĕlis papa kĕlésan,
dasa-mala tĕri-mala, sang dasa-mala tri-mala,
papa-klésa sang Janur Kuning, papa-klésa sang Janur Kuning,
ngadĕg Siwa Brahma (cf. 31), turunan Siwa Brahma,
wĕnang anggĕ[ng]ng lara pataka. kagĕ[ng]ng dĕn Sang Hyang Siwa Brahma
. . . . . moksah ilang nama swaha.
. . . . . Pukulun Sang Hyang Siwa Rahtya,
. . . . . ngwah Dewa Nawa-sanga,
Né katur ing suka di arĕp, dewa n sang pĕjah,
mantra: Uhm ngaturang uhm angaturakĕn
i tangga réka, angga ringgit, tangga uĕnĕk, tangga tuwun,
pinaka swaha sang para buta, pinaka sa-apuh,
amrĕta nama swaha. tur katur ing Paduka Batara.

V

37 Mĕnèk lis pu[rwa] The lis is placed upright in East,
38 busung réka ingastuti, the embellished palm leaf, worthy of praise,
39 sin(ĕ)rang amla chatur pitu, ... four and seven (?),
40 *mantra*: Ong Adi Sĕsèh, *mantra*: Om, Prince of Sĕsèh,
41 Sang Hyang Buwana nĕrangin, Lord of the world . . .
42 malingga ring busung réka, fashioned in patterns cut from leaf,
43 anyambuta tirta-wasa (cf 21, 71), to banish with tirta-wasa,
44 sinirata[n] mĕ[n]chur munchar, sprinkled with the gushing jet of water,
45 anyapuhang mala-wigna. removing defilement and obstacles.

38 M8 angastuti.
39 asrang amalaku, beseech, but hardly possible in this context.
40 Sĕsèh, name of a place in Mĕngwi ... where, it is said ... prayers are addressed to a Javanese Prince from Blambangan, Pangéran Adipati Danuningrat, because he was done to death in Mĕngwi (Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balinesisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, I IV, Batavia, 1897 1912).
41 In the original bawana, according to Van der Tuuk erroneously for buwana.
44 Elsewhere in the *mantra* of the *pĕmangku*: munchar munchrat, as in B p. 11.

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46	Ênak Sang (Hyang) Déwa ngayun ing	Joyful are the gods, reposing
47	busung tatah, busung gĕlung;	in this chiselled, rolled-up leaf.
48	wastu sirna-mala sidi rastu.	May it be so; an end to all impurity. Hail!

VI

49	Ong Sang Janur Jinipat	O Lord Yellow-Green, ...
50	jinĕpitan (dénira) Batara Guru:	.... by Batara Guru.
51	tiba mangétan dadi salaka,	In the East Thou art silver,
52	tiba mangidul dadi tĕmbaga,	in the South Thou art bronze,
53	tiba mangulon dadi kanchana,	in the West Thou art gold,
54	tiba mangalor dadi wĕsi,	in the North Thou art iron,
55	tiba marĕng madya dadi [s]wasa,	in the Centre Thou art an alloy of brilliant hue,
56	sinĕmbah dé(ning) sanak putu;	revered by old and young.
57	ong rastu-rastu-nama swaha.	Beit so. Beit so. Hail! Hail!

55 In the original text the line concluded with tĕmbaga wasa, but as tĕmbaga occurs in 52 it is here superfluous.

VII

58	Ong Brahma joti-jotir swaha,	Om, hail to the radiance of Brahma,
59	ong Sang Janur Irĕng mangadĕg	Om, Sang Janur stands there black,
60	ong Sang Janur Kuning mangadĕg,	Om, Sang Janur stand there yellow,
61	[ong Sang Janur Barak mangadĕg	Om, Sang Janur stands there red,]
62	ong Sang Janur Pĕtak mangadĕg	Om, Sang Janur stands there white,
63	ong ĕlis tĕgtĕg mĕdon lungsir mangadĕg;	Om, lis tĕgtĕg with garlands of leaf,
64	ong ĕlis tĕgtĕg mĕwoh mirah mangadĕg;	Om, lis tĕgtĕg with ruby fruits,
65	ya namā swaha angilangakĕn	Hail! Hail! banishing
66	sĕkĕl-kandĕl ya nama swaha.	impurity. Hail! Hail!

58 In the course of his daily ritual in honour of the Sun, the pĕdanda Siwa repeats (Lévi, op. cit., p. 19, No. 77) — Agnir-agnir-jyotir-jyotih swāhā, while holding the *dhūpa* (incense bowl), and Sūrya-jyotir-jyotih swāhā, while holding the *Dipa* (lamp).

59 The word dĕgdĕg in the original has been rendered as tĕgtĕg to correspond with the spelling in 1.2 and in conformity with the pronunciation in Ubud.

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67 *Kosokin rihin; mantra:* — *First the lis is shaken; mantra*
68 Ong trĕna, taru, lata, [gulma], — Om, dry grass, vines, and tree
69 akurambyan, kabarĕtan, — with hanging branch roots, shaken by the wind,
70 kalinusan déning angin (cf 82), — assailed by whirlwind and by storm,
71 angampuhang mala-wigna; — banishing impurities and obstacles,
72 Ong sidi rastu ya namah swaha. — Om may there be fulfilment! Hail! Hail!

73 *Aturin tĕpung tawar, mantra:...* — *Tĕpung tawar is offered, mantra:*
74 *Aturin toya ning choblong, mantra:...* — *Holy water from the round pot is offered, mantra:...*
75 *Aturin lis, mantra:* — *The holy water sprinkler is offered, mantra:*

76 Ong Pukulun pangadĕgan ing — Om, Thy lowly servant places
77 Janur Putih (B: Janur Kuning), — upright the pale-hued palm leaf
78 Siwa rininggitang Guru; — Siwa portrayed as Guru (?),
79 Tumurun ... utusan ... — descending as a messenger
80 Hyang Batara Déwa. — of the Hyang, the Batara, the Déwa,
81 ....
82 kahalĕtan déning linus (cf 70), — shaken by whirlwinds,
83 umilangang ing sarwa — destroying all
84 mala-papa-naraka — defilement, sin, and vice
85 glĕh patlĕtĕh ning sarira (nira) — which corrupt the body,
86 Ong sidi rastu ya namah Siwa ya. — Om, may there be fulfilment, hail to Siwa!
87 *Lis; mantra:* — *Mantra for the lis:*
88 Pukulun mangadĕga — [Om!] Thy lowly servant
89 Sira Sang Janur Kuning. — places upright the yellow Palm-leaf,

90 Tumurun Batara Siwa, — Batara Siwa, deign to descend,
91 ulun angaturana — Thy servant would offer Thee
92 busung réka busung ringgit, — young palm leaf embellished;
93 inastu dé Batara Siwa, — by the mighty word of Siwa
94 arona sarwa laluwĕs (cf 18), — the leaf is transformed to fine raiment,
95 awoh ratna-komala-wintĕn (cf 19), — the fruit to pearls, rare and precious stones,
96 awit ĕmas tanpahuna(n), — the trunk to flawless gold,
97 angilir-ilirana — that the flowing stream may bear away
98 sakwèh ing dasa-mala, — all of the ten impurities,

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99 sĕbĕl-sangkala-putĕk-latĕk	the taints, the slurs, the defilements,
100 uyanyadan talĕtĕh, masuda ya:	silt and mud; all is now pure.
101 *tutupakĕna ring suptawĕrdi*;	*The supta-wĕrdi formula is spoken.*
102 sampurna ya namah.	Hail to perfection!

67 102 only in K; 75 97, 100 102 in B; 87 102 in LQJF.

68 The addition of *gulma* is justified by the wording of K 475, Basma, I, 8b, which reads Iseh-iseh, *mantra*: Ong trĕna-taru-lata-*gulma*, karaméyan angĕlĕbur lara-rogaṇira Sang Kali-lisan.

81.2 K and B kalabĕtan ing janma manusa (hindered by mankind) this being followed in K with the line: kalabĕtan ing sarwa dewata, which I find unintelligible in this context.

82 From K 226 I, 12b.

83 Bĕsangilangakĕn.

84 B patuka for naraka.

85 B gĕlĕh sariranira.

87 Q ngaturang lis; J pangestawa ning lis; F mantra n lis; K raris kosoking lis; B mangosokang lis.

88 B the line begins with Ong; Q angulĕgu; K pangulĕgan ing.

89 K Sira ya omitted; KQB Sang is omitted.

90 LJKB turun.

91 FB ulun is omitted; K Pukuhun ulun; K angaturakĕn; B angulĕgakĕn.

92 F lusung maréka lusung maringgit; K lis riréka rininggit; B lis lusung maréka lusung maringgit.

93 QJ roma, F anggĕna; K makaroma; B maĕroa.

96 KB tanpa-tuna; LQJ tanpa-hulan; KB This line is followed with the addition ya ta ñuggon ing ulun.

97 Q angilih)ilirana; F angilih ilihana, B angilirakĕn.

98 K su-mala

The dasa-mala, the ten impurities, are designated by Sanskrit words, but in the more erudite manuals of the Brahman priests the significance of these words is different from that denoted in the texts for the *pĕmangku* ritual, as in the following example (A p. 6, B p. 8) —

ginumĕl déning wong chamah,	disturbed by an unclean being,
kalĕtĕhan déning celak,	besmirched by toilet powder,
kararahan déning roma,	when hair falls on thee,
kahiléran déning ayam,	when a cock flies over thee,
kalangkahan déning asu,	when a dog steps upon thy body.

I have never seen all ten listed.

99 J kandĕl for sangkala; F sĕbĕl sangkala is omitted; K the line begins with papa.

100 Q alĕtĕh; J alĕtuh; F latĕk; KB lĕtĕh-lĕtuh; FB masuda ya is omitted; K kaparisuda ya.

101 Lévi (op. cit., p. 27) cites the two ślokas with the supta-wṛddhi formula as an optional addition to the Mṛtyuṃjaya (Triumph-over-Death) śloka. These two verses, given below, are apparently so well-known to the *pĕmangku* that their inclusion in the *pĕmangku* manuals is unnecessary —

Ayur-vṛddhir yaśo-vṛddhir,	Greater measure of long life and fame,
vṛddhi jrajñā-sukha-śriyam;	of wisdom, happiness, and good fortune,
dharma-santāna-vṛddhiś-ca,	virtuous deeds, and prosperous dealings,
santu té supta vṛddhayah.	may these be thy Seven Enhancements.

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yāvaṅ Mēraŭ sthitā dēvā,	For as long as the Gods dwell upon the Mēru,
yāvaṅ Ganggā mahī-talē,	for as long as the Ganges flows on earth,
candrā[r]kau gagaṇē yāvat	for as long as the Sun and Moon are in the sky,
tāvat-tāvat (vi)jayī bhavēd.	may these favours be given Thee.

101 K dēnira Batara Siwa; B this line is omitted.
102 P kasampurna; K wahya (B wastu) pariporna ya namah - sahu.

The following lines, possibly a shortened variation of VIII, occur in the MS Lagya K 71 f. 10b.

Pangeḍĕganing Janur Kuning, tumuruna Hyang Batara Iswara, anuḍĕtana janma manusa.
Angeḍĕgakĕn lis, tumurun Hyang Brahma, Hyang Wisnu, sihĕlin mur tuyĕ namah swaha.
Ong hang Hamaléwa, Batara Bayu angabungakĕn lara rogamira sang ingĕlis lisan.

IX

103 Om Sang Hyang Karpa-taru!	Om Divine Wishing Tree!
104 Duk ing swarga suralaya.	When Thou didst wander in Paradise,
105 witnira kanchana.	there Thy trunk was of gold
106 pangnira kanchana.	there Thy branches were of gold
107 rondonira pralambana.	Thy leaves were of silk,
108 wohnira manik komala (wintĕn).	Thy fruits were pearls
109 Turun pwa kita ring Madyapada.	Thou didst descend to earth
110 mandadi janur	there becoming a *janur*
111 mangĕlung, janur mahiyas.	with hair arranged and with jewels bedecked,
112 janur swĕta, janur rakta.	white janur, red janur,
113 janur pita, janur irĕng.	yellow janur, black janur,
114 janur amañca-warna.	janur of many colours,
115 Ulun aminta sihira.	Thy servant beseeches Thee
116 angĕluwarana sakwĕh	to banish all afflictions and
117 ing lara roga sangut (masung-gut?).	ills that beset us (?)
118 sangkala ning gĕring kring-king(?)	pain and sorrow ....
119 kriya upaya manusa (kabĕh);	inflicted on us by mankind,
120 Om dirgayur tat astu astu swaha.	Long-lived. May it be so!

An apparently shortened version comprises only certain of these lines —

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103 Ong Sang Hyang Karpataru.
104 mijil saking swarga suralaya.
110 nunduli jumur (*sembat silih tunggil rupaluwanunipun*, that is, each form and colour is named).
116 angilangakĕna
117 mula-puṅka-nĕ kang kuṅlis-lisun.

107 prakaṛsana is probably used instead of prakasa in order to preserve the metre.
108 winĕs appears to be merely explanatory and superfluous.
111 The wording suggests personification.
112 113 The colours of the Gods of the four directions, and
114 those of the Supreme Being in the Centre.

Cp. Walther Aichele, *Oudjavaansche Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den Wrauchhoom*, Djawa VIII, 1 & 2, 1928, pp. 28 40, translated from *Festschrift Meinhof*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 461 476; in English: *The Paradise on Earth in Lĕdĕ (Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa XXII)*, 87 120), BKI 114/3, pp. 285 291.

The composition of the *lis* may well vary in other areas from that observed in Ubud, and may include additional or different elements relating to religious concepts. It is also possible that further texts of *mantra lis* may come to light[13a] in new or better versions. Nevertheless, I hope that I have succeeded in conveying something of the religious feeling, the creative capacity, and imaginative ingenuity, which characterize the culture of Bali.

[13a] The *mantras lis* cited by Swellengrebel op. cit., do not provide any additional material as these comprise only the lines 14 17, 94 98, and 101 of the examples given here.

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II

ÈTÈH-ÈTÈH PADUDUSAN

(purificatory objects)

When a *pamangku*, a non-Brahman priest, officiates at a Balinese temple festival, the *lis*, the holy water sprinkler, is consecrated as an offering to the gods who have been summoned to the feast. But before the ritual of homage to the gods can begin the temple is first purified by a group of women who perform the ceremony of sprinkling holy water with the *lis* and strewing *isuh-isuh*, a mixture of *dapdap* leaves, ashes and rice.

However, when a *padanda*, a Brahman priest, is invited to prepare the holy water, the purificatory ceremony is more elaborate and requires the use of *èteh-èteh padudusan*. Placed on the *balé pasédaan*, the high structure from which the *padanda* officiates, the *èteh-èteh padudusan* are not easily seen from the courtyard below. First I will describe these ritual objects and then explain how they are used.

I noticed that not only does the preparation of holy water by a *padanda* involve the use of *èteh-èteh padudusan*, but that a performance of the *wayang lèmah*, the day *wayang* (without screen and lamp) also always forms an integral part of the ceremony.[14] I will first comment on this *wayang* performance as it occurs prior to that phase of the ceremony in which the *èteh-èteh padudusan* are used and is, moreover, directly connected with the use of the *èteh-èteh padudusan*.

The *wayang* performance takes place in the inner courtyard of the temple in front of the *balé pasamuhan*, where the gods are gathered for their feast. It is significant that the *wayang pèlèng*, the night *wayang kulit* (with screen and lamp), is never performed on this sacred spot. The *wayang pèlèng* also has a religious relevance, but it is performed in the outer courtyard of the temple or in the cockfight arena.

The *wayang lèmah* performance is obviously intended for the gods as the place in which it is given indicates. The puppets are first laid against the white thread stretched between two freshly cut *dapdap* branches, and it is between these two branches that the puppets are manipulated during the actual performance, at the conclusion of which the white thread is broken by the *dalang*.

[14] Colin McPhee, *The Balinese Wajang Koelit* (sic) *and its Music*. Djawa, Tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut, XVI, 1936, pp. 1–50, Pl. I. The essential distinction between the *wayang lèmah* and the *wayang pèlèng* is the absence of the lamp and screen with the performance of the *wayang lèmah*. I have seen the *wayang lèmah* performed at night in a temple lit by a pressure lamp.

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This feature of the two *dapdap* branches linked by a thread that is later broken occurs also in the marriage ceremony which, like the *padusan*, is a lustration ceremony. The marriage ritual comes within the category of ceremonies performed for personal well-being and is consequently listed in the Balinese religious manuals amongst the *mānusa yadnya* (ceremonies of offerings for mankind) [18].

As with numerous other ceremonies of this category, the *nĕlu bulanin*, for example, the marriage ritual can be divided into two phases. The first phase, which I would define as an *adat* marriage ceremony, is conducted by a *pamangku* even when a *pedanda* is also present to prepare the holy water and to present the offerings to the gods.

The *adat* phase is generally regarded as a *pelukatan*, a lustration ceremony removing all impurity. In the villages it is only after the completion of this *adat* phase that the ritual bath of the bridal pair takes place. Following this the bride and bridegroom dress in their nuptial attire so that they might do homage to the gods.

During the bridal procession the white thread joining the two *dapdap* branches is broken by an old woman who walks in front. It is my opinion that the *adat* phase of the marriage ceremony is more ancient than the ceremony of preparation of holy water in the temple by a Brahman priest. I imagine that when this 'Hindu-Javanese' elaboration was added to the lustration ritual, the practice was also adopted of presenting to the gods a performance of the similarly Hindu Javanese puppet show, while the concluding act of the original ritual, the breaking of the thread between the *dapdap* branches, an ancient and essential element of the lustration ritual, was retained.

The inseparable association of the performance of the *wayang lĕmah* with the simultaneous preparation of holy water by a *pedanda* is quite obvious when the actual ritual is observed. The tinkle of the *pedanda's* bell is scarcely audible above the hoarse shouting of the *dalang* and the music of the four instruments played as an accompaniment.[19]

In order to simplify the listing the *ittĕh-ittĕh* are divided into two groups -

Group I (1–40) miniature replicas of agricultural implements and domestic utensils, some of wood or bamboo, made specially for the occasion, and others, of earthenware, bought in the market.

[18] A mimeographed transliteration of a text entitled *Mānusa Yadña*, 26 pp. was recently issued by the Dinas Agama Otonoom Daérah Bali. This text was compiled by the Pedanda Gdé Boda, Njoman Djlantik, of Boda Kling, Karang Asĕm.

[19] It does happen that a *wayang lĕmah* performance may be given instead of a *wayang pĕtĕng* at a ceremony in a village – at a teeth-filing ceremony, for example – when the head of the family concerned has pledged himself to meet the costs of a *wayang* performance but has not sufficient money to pay for the more expensive night performance.

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Group II (41–80) small cult objects of earthenware, and miniature replicas of offerings which are also made in dough or from palm leaf.

Only the first category, the agricultural implements and domestic utensils are listed in the religious manuals. I consider that the custom of making these objects must consequently be a very ancient tradition. There is no reference in the religious manuals to the items in the second group, just as there is no mention of the performance of the *ayaŋ lĕmah*. In the manuscript with the most extensive directives for the *pamangku* [17] several of the *ɔtɔh-ɔtɔh paduduan* are listed, and it appears from the text that these were also used as offerings on the occasion of the erecting of a new building. The items listed in this manuscript are

1 *tĭuggala* plough.
2 *lampit* harrow.
3 *uga* plough-yoke.

These three items, which may be made from white *manduri* wood, are the implements for work performed by the man. However, implements for hunting, fishing, etc. are not referred t.

The items associated with the work of the woman are

4 *ilir* fan, for fanning the cooking fire – identical with the usual *kipas* (not shown in the illustrations).
5 *sĕpit* fire-tongs.
6 *kuskusan* basket in which the rice is steamed.
7 *sok ayda-mala* basket 'cleansed of impurity'.
8 *sɔmprong* pipe for blowing on the cooking fire.
9 *nidi* sieve.
10 *tikĕh* mat.
11 *ngyu* winnow.
12 *lisung* hollowed-out section of a tree trunk for threshing rice.
13 *luku* rice pounder, used with the *lisung*.
14 *kitung* hollowed-out round block of wood for threshing rice.
15 *yantra* spinning wheel.
16 *pami(s)pisan* instrument for separating the seeds from raw cotton.

In the manuscript it is specified that these items are to be 'of small dimensions, and made from *dapdap* wood'.

In addition to these, the following items were cited to me by an informant, a Balinese woman of the Brahman caste.

17 *sudar* thread-winder.
18 *pangayinan* warp-frame.

[17] *Kusuma Dèwa*, K (manuscript from the Kirtya-Liefrinck van der Tuuk *lontar* library in Singaradja) No. 1804, f. 49b.

[For illustrations of these implements, see category 116, pp. 59-60 --Analyst]

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19 *i(ar)iring* stave.
20 *bung-bungan* bamboo tube for separating the threads on the loom.
21 *pindalan* bobbin.
22 *bilida* strip of wood used for tightening the weave.
23 *pur* weaver's yoke.
24 *sirat* weaving reed.
25 *salikan* slats for arranging the pattern to be woven.
26 *apit* roller, which is attached to the yoke and round which the finished cloth is wound.
27 *tunuk* spindle holder.

With the copies of these items made by the village carpenter in (Pa)-Nestanan, near Ubud, were also two additional objects – certainly not improvised by the village carpenter

28 *kulkul* wooden slit gong.
29 *gunchan* a peg of *pinang* wood with a notch on which the thread from the spinning wheel is wound.

(A further item cited by my informant but not made by the carpenter is

30 *dampar* three legged stool of the type used by the market women.)

31 *klatkah sudamala luh*, and
32 *klatkah sudamala muani* } replicas made from bamboo strips, of the platforms on which purificatory offerings are placed[18].

The objects listed above, all replicas of agricultural implements and household utensils are made from wood or bamboo. The following eight, replicas of household utensils, are of terracotta.

33 *chodlong* and *chibléng* bowls, with or without base.
34 *payuk* cooking pot 4 in number.

On festive occasions the *payuk* are embellished with the *siképan* or *sunjata*, the weapons or emblems of the gods. I have seen an ordinary cooking pot amongst the ritual objects at a marriage ceremony and also at a *ma-p-dong-p-dong* celebration (held shortly before the birth of a child).[19] This must be a survival of an ancient custom. At this particular marriage ceremony a full-sized four-pronged hoe, decorated with *sapsap* (offerings cut out of palm leaf), was placed beside the cooking pot.

35 *tékeb* pot lid, undecorated, leaning against the *payuk*; (an elaborately decorated version of the *kékeb* is used with No 43).
36 *pulu* container for hulled rice, with three holes.
37 *kukurungan* bird cage, with approximately 30 interstices; also a component of the lis.

[18] Illustration in Swellengrebel, op. cit., pl. VI.
[19] The *Mānava Veda* (Note 15) does not give any details regarding these objects.

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38 *kĕrĕm* brazier (an essential item).
39 *pĕlita* oil lamp with a single spout for one wick
40 *lumbung* or *jinĕng* rice barn; also an offering at the *ma-gedong-gedong* ceremony, but made of palm leaf and much larger.

The following items, which make up the second group, are cult objects and replicas of offerings and are all made in terracotta.

41 *panjĕnĕng* an offering that is cited in all *pamangku* manuals and always in association with *pras* (No 53). It is also made from palm leaf and from dough, and sometimes formed from a number of Chinese coins tied together. The *panjĕnĕng* often includes the purificatory materials listed under No 47 and No 48.
42 *kuwak* or *tuwak* palmwine, used with libation offerings (Cf No 65), and is also made in dough.
43 *pasĕpan* round, undecorated brazier, on which is placed a decorated *kĕkĕb* (No 35).
44 *papijitan* square-shaped, undecorated bowl with a round base containing massage lotions for the gods. On the inner surface is inscribed a V-shaped marking which also occurs in No 56 over a lotus design, and again in No 61.
45 *kĕladi* edible root, which, according to my informant, is included as a component of the offering *'apang dadi'* 'so that it may succeed'. This item and *ubi*, (No 70) are replicas, but the actual roots are also used as offerings (Cf infra *salaran*). At the beginning of the rice planting the *kĕladi* is planted as an offering together with *kunir* (curcuma), an addition explained by the phonetic association with *kuning*, yellow. Characteristically Indonesian, this process of association by phonetic analogy is perhaps best known from the examples occurring in the Malay *pantuns*[20].
46 *panyémbéyan* an upright lamp with two arms and with a drip-tray at the base.
47 *pabrĕsihan* three substances for the toilet of the gods.
48 *pabrĕsihan* five substances for the toilet of the gods
tĕpung tawar finely chopped *dapdap* leaves,
sĕsarik biji kuning yellow-dyed rice grains,
minyak (fragrant) oil,
isuk-isuk unguent,
asĕm tamarind.
Offerings of water perfumed with flowers, eyeblack, toothpaste, powder, etc., are also presented to the gods.
49 *chĕlĕngan* money box of the most simple form.
50 *tangkar iga* breast bone with ribs (on both sides).
51 *tangkar iga* breast bone with ribs on one side only. (Cf. sub *lis* No 1 and No 2).

[20] Cf. Dr. C. Hooykaas, *Over Maleise Literatuur*, Brill, Leiden, 1947.

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52 *mimi* or *mimi mintuna* crabs or pairing crabs. The two crablike figures are considered inseparable and symbolize sexual union[21].

When these crabs are found in a rice field a purificatory offering no less elaborate than that required when a ricefield is defiled by the presence of a human or animal corpse – must be made to the gods.[22]

In this connection it is also to be noted that a temple is made unclean by the presence of *lulut* worms – the word *lulut* means closely attached, enamoured – a species of earth worms which are always found linked together in the form of a chain.[23]

53 *pras* an offering consisting of a roasted chicken laid between heaped servings of rice and groundnuts. In the *pamangku* rituals the *pras* is always listed together with and preceding *panjěněng* (No 41).

54 Unknown to my informants in Ubud; nor could any information be obtained from the market women in Den Pasar.

55 *padang lěpas* a type of grass, which also figures amongst the components of the *lis* (No 28). A representation of *padang lěpas* is also made in dough.

56 *sikěpan* weapons or emblems; an earthenware plate embellished with the *sikěpan* or *sanjata* of the gods of the four directions – the *bajra* (thunderbolt) of Iswara in the East, the *gada* (club) of Brahma in the South, the *(naga)-pasa* (snake)arrow of Mahadéwa in the West, and the *cakra* (discus) of Wisnu in the North. The *sikěpan* also occur as an offering made in dough, and again from palm leaf as a component part of the *lis sanjata*. In the offering of dough the form and the associated colours of the various weapons[24] are correctly reproduced, but the positions are often confused in the clay version.

These symbols of the *nawa-sanga* appear on offerings at ritual festivities, such as *otonan*, birthday celebration, *nělu bulanin*, the celebration held when a child is three months old, *makěrab*, marriage ceremony, *ma-gědong-gědong*, the ceremony prior to the birth of a child, *odalan*, temple festivities and *ngabèn*, funerary ritual.

I consider it improbable that the *nawa sanga* symbols have any particular significance in relation to the funerary ritual.[25]

57 Designation unknown; a representation of the *pras* (No 53) is recognizable at the base.

[21] Cf. remarks above on the *lilit linting* as component No. 15 of the *lis*.

[22] *Dukuh Bangol*, K 1861 I. 3a.

[23] Cf. J. L. Swellengrebel, *Korawāçrama, een Oud-Javaansch Proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, 1936, p. 93, in which it is stated that the *sakti* received by the Oud Giana from the gods is derived in part from the *lulut* worms stretched across the roadways.

[24] P. H. Pott, *Yoga en Yantra in hunne beteekenis voor de Indische Archaeologie*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, Brill, Leiden, 1946, p. 148, Pl. XV.

[25] Pott, op. cit., considers that the *nawa-sanga* symbol is closely related to the funerary ritual.

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58 *lilit linting* the form suggests a *lingga* encircled by a snake as in the similar Tantric symbol. However, the snake of the *lilit linting* if it is indeed a snake makes only two and a half coils, while in the Tantric symbol the snake makes three and a half coils around the *lingga*. The term *lilit linting* means 'tightly entwined' 'tightly wound around, as a snake around an arm', but the coiled part was not referred to by the offering maker as a snake.

This offering is also made in dough and in another representation, plaited from palm leaf it is a component of the *lis* (No 15).

It is of interest to note that this particular object has also aquired a magical significance. I was told that the market women place an earthenware *lilit linting* amongst their wares 'in order to awaken the desire of the buyers'.

59 The name of this object was given as *kuwik* or *tuwik* (supra No 42) and as *balé gading* (infra No 66). I doubt whether either name is correct.

60 *tumpéng* a cone-shaped pile of rice. These *tumpéngs* and the accompanying flat, round, rice-offerings are prepared for all festive occasions, and may be compared with the large *gunungans* which are a feature of the Javanese *garébégs*.[28] In Java the conical heaps of rice are referred to as 'male' and the flat mounds as 'female', but I have never heared these designations in Bali.

61 The name is unknown; perhaps slightly damaged

62 *padang gagulung* rolled up grass stalks; also made in dough; and is given by Swellengrebel, op. cit., as a component of the *lis*.

63 *bagya* or *bingin* tree of good luck or *waringin* tree, with four upturned branches, between which there is a bird, and four hanging branch roots. The *bagya* is also made in dough and occurs again as a component of the *lis* (No 21).

64 *anchak* a sacred tree; also made in dough, and it similarly occurs again as a component of the *lis* (No 21).

65 *kuwik* or *tuwik* used with libation offerings (Cf No 42); also made in dough.

66 *balé gading* ivory pavilion; also made in dough and also a component of the *lis* (No 44) and then alternatively designated as *timpal lis*, companion of the *lis*.

The identically named items amongst the *itik-itik paludamen* and the components of the *lis* are as follows –

[28] Clearly distinguishable in Pl. 21 and Pl. 22 in *De Garébég's te Ngajogyakarta* by J. Groneman, The Hague, 1895. The text to these illustrations wrongly indicates the male symbol as the female symbol and the female symbol as the male symbol, as can be seen from a comparison with the photos opposite p. 20 in *De Garebegs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta*, by R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, Bunong, Jogyakarta, 1931.

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	lis components	*èlèh-èlèh pajudusan*
tangkur iga	1 and 2*	50 and 51
lilit lintang	15	58
anchak	21	64
bungin or *bungu*	22	63
padang lĕpas	28	55
padang gagalang	listed by	62
or *gagalungan*	Swellengrebel	
bak padang	44	66

67 *rarakitan* |*r*|*pikit lalima* five stalks in an flat bowl attached at the base and diverging upwards.

68 *rarakitan* |*r*|*pikit tilu* three stalks arranged as in 67.

69 *rarakitan* |*r*|*pikit patpat* four stalks arranged as in 67.

The words rakat, lakat, lakĕt, lĕkĕt, lĕkat, dĕkat, all express the sense of close together, attached.

70 *ubi* edible root; always associated with *kiladi* (No 43).

The final and most important items amongst the *èlèh-èlèh pajudusan* are a series of holy water pots with spouts, the position in which each is placed being denoted by the number of spouts.

71 *kumba charatan manyonga abĕsik* pot with one spout (shown between No 36 and No 37), in the North-West.

The term *kumba charatan* means pot with spout or spouts; the term *manyonga* (having a nipple or breast) with a numeral is merely a mnemonic device for the guidance of the offering makers and the women assisting at the ceremony.

72 *k. c. m. dadua* pot with two spouts, in the South-east.

73 *k. c. m. tĕlu* pot with three spouts, in the South-west.

74 *k. c. m. sadasa* pot with eleven spouts, Middle-high (between the centre of the eight directions and the zenith, the zenith and nadir forming, together with the eight directions and the centre, a three-dimensional totality of 11).

75 *k. c. m. siyu* pot with nine spouts, in the South.

76 *k. c. m. akutus* pot with eight spouts, in the Centre.

77 *k. c. m. patpat* pot with four spouts, in the North.

78 *k. c. m. lima* pot with five spouts, in the East.

79 *k. c. m. pitu* pot with seven spouts, in the West.

[80 *k. c. m. nemnim* pot with six spouts, in the North-east.]

While the other objects amongst the *èlèh-èlèh pajudusan* may be placed in any position on the platform from which the *pajanda* officiates, these holy water pots must be placed in the indicated positions. On completing the ritual the *pajanda* pours the consecrated water from these various pots into a single larger vessel.

The pots with one, two, three and eleven spouts are required only with

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elaborate offerings [27]. I have never seen these in use, nor have I seen an example of the pot with six spouts, which should, according to the system occur.

Although other objects may be lacking amongst the *itik-itik paduduwan*, these pots are essential for the preparation of holy water by the *pedanda*. If the earthenware pots are not available young coconuts, with pieces of bamboo for spouts, are used instead.

In each of the *kumba charatan* there is a *plawa*, a small, stiff brush made from ten different sorts of leaves, *bunut bulu*, *anchak*, *bingin*, *Kumara Jaya*, *Kumara Ratih*, *slisih*, *mihik*, *myana*, *chamara*, *blungah buwah*, *ambèngan*. The leaves are bound together with a red-black-white thread, *bènang tri-datu*, the colours denoting respectively Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara.

The number of spouts of the various *kumba charatan* is not fixed arbitrarily, for these numbers also occur repeatedly in Balinese texts [28]. In the Buda Kachapi [29], a 'medico-philosophic' treatise this series denotes the number of tiers of each of the *mèrus* of the respective cardinal points. These same numbers are again found in the Chapa Kala [30], a *ruwat bhuta* or purificatory myth, which tells of Kala, the malevolent aspect of Siwa. A *wayang* performance of the Chapa Kala is given when a village has to be purified after the birth of twins of different sexes to parents not belonging to the *brahman*, *ksatriya* or *wésya* castes [31] and at the birthday celebrations of children for whom a purificatory ritual is considered necessary. I hope at a later date to discuss this point in connection with another subject.

The myth relates that Kala was born from a crystal guarded by all the gods of the *mata angin*. Batara Guru assigned to his son Kala the crossing of the great roads as dwelling place, and it was so that, when the sun shone at the highest point in the sky, Kala might devour all who came that way. Kala descended to the crossroads when the sun was at its zenith, there devouring many mortals, 5,500 in the East, 9,000 in the South, 4,400 in the North and 7,700 in the West. Thus he did until the sun sunk from the sky. In the Centre Kala fed himself with 8,800 mortals. Then with the going of the sun came respite in the orgy of agony and death. Thus did Kala wreak great havoc, devouring mankind by the light of day.

In fear the mortals flocked together in great throngs. Countless were those who were done to death. As hunted creatures of the forest they fled seeking refuge in deep valleys and desolate places, but flight did not save them from the hungry jaws of Kala. Lamenting they cried out to the Highest God.

[27] *Puja Paduduwan Agung*, K. 1457.

[28] Swellengrebel, op. cit., p. 22; Jane Belo, *Bali: Temple Festival*, Monograph of the American Ethnological Society, XXII, 1953, J. J. Augustin Publisher, Locust Valley, New York, p. 27.

[29] K. 1864; probably also occurring in the similarly titled manuscript in the Leiden collection.

[30] K. 504.

[31] Cf. Jane Belo, '*A Study of Customs pertaining to Twins in Bali*', Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXXV, 4, 1935, pp. 483-549.

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Batara Guru heard the voices of the mortals ...

Sang Hyang Sri spoke to Batara Guru saying: 'Lord, let it be your will to intercede, for else the world of mankind will come to an end. Let us descend, mounted upon the bull, to the earth below, to the crossroads where Kala dwells'.

The High God and Sang Hyang Sri, disguised in the likeness of Gopa and Gopi, descended to the earth. Kala saw the pair approaching and spoke, saying: 'I have seen you both and now I am going to devour you'.

Gopa and Gopi answered, saying: 'O grandfather Kala, be not hasty. Hear us first, for we would propose that our fate be decided by a riddle'.

Kala assented, and Gopa and Gopi then posed the riddle: 'There is a bull with three heads, and six eyes, with eight hooves, with twice the organs of the male, and with a single *Śulya*'.

Long did Kala ponder. The hours passed and still he was silent. The sun sank from sight and still he had not solved the riddle. Kala was outwitted and he began to weep with rage.

Then Gopa and Gopi returned to the abode of the gods.

The role of Gopa and Gopi recalls the myth in which it is related that Siwa took the form of a Kumara Gopala and in this guise lay with Uma in the fields [32]. The fact that the goddess is named Sang Hyang Sri in the Chupa Kalu is of particular interest as an indication of the developments traceable in Balinese mythology.

It will be noticed that the numbers referring to the mortals devoured by Kala correspond to the number of spouts on the various *kumba charatan* and again, in the Buda Kachapi, to the number of tiers of the *mérus* associated with the respective deities. These references make clear the meaning of the *panglukatan*, purificatory formula, quoted below [33], consisting of five verses of which all lines are of eight syllables. It runs as follows:

Ring *Purwa* Bumi Kamulan,
kamuluh Hyang *Mahéswara*,
Wétan palunggahanira;
putih katon rupanira,
putih kang sinandangira,
putih kang tinadahira;
toya mojit saking ukir,
ahêning akika(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akümba charat *lalima*;
apuran ta kriyanira?
angukata dosa-mala.

In the *East* where the beginning is,
there whence came *Mahéswara*,
in the *East* is His abode;
white of body is *Mahéswara*,
clothed He in *white* garments,
eating of food, *white* in colour *;
from the mountain streams forth
water of immaculate transparency
to be stored in a jewelled pot,
a jewelled pot with *five* spouts;
for what purpose is this done?
it is done so that the ten impurities
may be cleansed away.

* to whom *white* offerings must be presented.

[32] Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggëlaran, een Oud-Javaansch Proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, The Hague, 1924, p. 77-147. Illustration in my paper 'The Myth of the Young Cowherd and the Lotus Girl', to be published shortly in the BKI.

[33] Text obtained from the *rësi bhujangga* or *sëngguhu* priest of Bandjar Gabbogan, Sëla Mañëg district, Tabanan.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF 7 Bali OF7

*1783 1778 539 788 The four subsequent verses refer, in turn, in the same wording, to Brahma, Mahadéwa, Wisnu and Siwa, giving the appropriate cardinal points and colours and the corresponding number of spouts on the jewelled pot

2. *Daksina* Bumi Kamulan,
kamulan Batara *Brahma*,
Kidul pahunggubanira;
abang katon rupanira,
abang kang sinandangira,
abang kang tinadahira;
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahéning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *sanga*;
apuran ta kriyanira?
anghukata dasa-mala.

3. *Paschima* Bumi Kamulan,
kamulan Hyang *Mahadéwa*,
Kulon pahunggubanira;
kuning katon rupanira,
kuning kang sinandangira,
kuning kang tinadahira;
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahéning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *pitu*;
apuran ta kriyanira?
anghukata dasa-mala.

4. *Uttara* Bumi Kamulan,
kamulan Batara *Wisnu*,
Lor pahunggubanira;
chéméng katon rupanira,
chéméng kang sinandangira,
chéméng kang tinadahira;
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahéning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *patpat*;
apuran ta kriyanira?
anghukata dasa-mala.

5. Ring *Madya* Bumi Kamulan
kamulan Batara *Siwa*,
Tengah pahunggubanira,
mancha warna anggonira,
mancha-warna sandangira,
mancha warna tadahira;
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahéning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *tohdo*,
apuran ta kriyanira?
anghukata dasa-mala.

*1783 1778 The *kumba charatan* stand on a round plaited tray *(témpèh)*, a posy *(kwangèn)* being placed beside each pot and in each a *plawa* (Cf supra), a bunch of leaves with purificatory powers. In addition a lotus shape cut from a palm leaf is laid on each of the pots on which are also hung Chinese coins, one for each spout.

[788] The repetition that is such a characteristic feature of Balinese offerings is again apparent here. Next to the *témpèh* with these five earthen pots is another *témpèh* on which are five coconuts, a *nyuh bulan* (moon coconut

[823] white) in the East, a *nyuh udang* (prawn coconut — red) in the South, a *nyuh gading* (ivory coconut — yellow) in the West, a *nyuh mulung* (black coconut) in the North, and in the Centre a *bunggrak* (young coconut) *suda-mala*. In the *bunggrak suda-mala* is placed a miniature holy water sprinkler, the *buhu*, comprising the most essential components of the *lis*[31] but lacking the long strips of leaf which are the characteristic feature of the *lis*. It resembles a miniature broom. The *buhu* is also used with purificatory offerings in the rice fields and on such occasions it is made, not by a professional offering maker but by the wife of the farmer.

[822] The symbol of the *nawa sanga*, already expressed with the five holy water pots and the five coconuts, is repeated again on a third *témpèh* with

[31] Cf. supra, note 3.

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rice grains in the four ritual colours *(bija chatur warna)* and a multi-coloured mixture in the centre. A *kwangèn* offering is placed on each of the colours.

It is evident from one of the myths in the Tantu Panggĕlaran [35] that the *bija chatur warna* offering stems from an old tradition. In this legend it is related that five sons of Batara Wisnu and Dèwi Sri, while hunting, pursued four birds, a turtle dove, a wood pigeon, a red pigeon and a black pigeon. These were the 'vehicles' of their mother Dèwi Sri. With stones from their slings the youths killed the birds which fell to the ground. Then from the breasts of the dead birds seeds came forth, white seeds from the turtle dove, red seeds from the red pigeon, black seeds from the black pigeon, and from the wood pigeon fragrant yellow seeds. These fragrant seeds the youths took up and ate and so it is that there is now no yellow-grained rice. The youths sowed the white seeds, the red seeds and the black seeds and they planted the husks of the yellow seeds from which grew *kunir* (curcuma). Thus it is, the tale in the Tantu Panggĕlaran concludes, that today there are still the seeds of the four colours.

The intent of this legend is obvious. For ritual purposes there must be four colours of rice, one colour for each direction. But rice occurs only in three colours, the white *bèras*, red glutinous rice and black glutinous rice. The myth allows the assumption that there was originally a yellow-coloured rice that has now become the fragrant yellow *kunir*. As was noted above, this root of which the name is phonetically analogous to *kuning*, yellow is always planted when the rice is planted, as has been mentioned before.

The *bija chatur warna* on the third *tèmpèh* is formed with white rice for the East, red glutinous rice for the South, rice dyed yellow with *kunir* for the West, and black glutinous rice for the North. I have seen grains of these four colours scattered in the respective directions at offering ceremonies in the rice fields.

Before going on to explain the manner in which the *èlèh-èlèh padudusan* are used I will describe another offering, the *salaran* offering, which is always included, though the number of the components may vary. The *salaran* offering, carried by a young boy, comprises a carrying pole to which are attached an unhusked coconut, a white drake, a cock (both in baskets of woven palm leaf), *saté* (pieces of meat roasted on a skewer), glutinous rice in *tipats*, a bunch of *pinang* nuts and a wad of betel nut.

The white drake and the cock can be regarded as the most important elements of the *salaran* offering. Women assistants remove the two birds from the baskets and, holding them firmly by the rump, let them peck at the grains of rice scattered amongst the *èlèh-èlèh padudusan*. At this point the *wayang lĕmah* has just ended and the white thread between the two *dapdap* branches has been broken. The boy carrying the *salaran* offering lifts the pole again on to his shoulder and walks behind the women

[35] Pigeaud, op. cit., p. 61/132.

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*183 798 holding the drake and the cock. This group is preceded by the woman carrying the *lis* (which has in the meantime been consecrated by the *pedanda*) and others strewing the *isuh-isuh*, and by the woman carrying the *ètèh-ètèh pududusan* on a *èmpèh*. The procession goes first to the throne of the Sun god, placed at an angle in the corner of the temple courtyard, where *isuh-isuh* is strewn, and the *lis*, the cock and the drake, and the *ètèh-ètèh pududusan* are wafted toward Bhatara Surya, these actions being repeated at each of the seats of the gods.

*183 788 At a temple festival in Padang Tĕgal, near Ubud, I saw the *ètèh-ètèh pududusan* actually being used during the procession — men were ploughing and harrowing, while a young girl turned the spinning wheel and others husked rice.

The procession moves clockwise round each of the 'seats' of the gods, which are in this way purified. This same ritual is performed also at the *nilu bulanin* (the celebration held when a child has reached the age of three months) and similarly in this instance at the conclusion of the *mayang lèmah*. It is a ritual that recurs frequently in various ceremonies, and at an *odalan* (temple festival) it is carried out both at the beginning and at the conclusion of the festival, when the gods have returned to their heavenly abodes. It will be recalled that the Latin word *lustratio* also denoted a ritual circumambulation.

In most cases our informants could not give any explanation of the Balinese rituals, but it is obvious from the texts that the function of the drake and the cock is to pick away the *dasa mala*, the evils that afflict mankind. In the Buda-Wéda [36], which sets out the funerary ritual as conducted by a Buddhist priest for *Brahmans*, *Ksatriyas* and *Wésyas*, it is prescribed that during the ceremony of *anuhun pada* [37], the following mantra be recited over the two birds

*183 539 788 875

Om! A cock dedicated to Batara Iswara; a hen dedicated to Batara Wisnu;
May they peck away and fly off with the impurities and the sins of him who is being purified;
Om! A drake dedicated to Batara Brahma; a duck dedicated to Batara Mahadéwa;
May they peck away and fly off with the impurities and the sins of him who is being purified.

The Wéda Purwaka [38], includes the following variation of this *mantra*:

May Thy will be done! The cock [dedicated to] Batara Iswara, the hen [dedicated to] Batari Ratih;
Pecking away the defilements and the sins of him who is being purified;

[36] K 2255 f. 57 b; this text corresponds to the Leiden MS Cod. Or. L.H. 4165 p. 64.

[37] K. C. Crucq, *Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Balisch Doodenritueel*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, Santpoort, 1928, pp. 63 64. Dr Paul Wirz, *Der Totenkult auf Bali*, Stuttgart, 1928, pp. 62 66.

[38] Another manual for Buddhist priests, but dealing mainly with the more elaborate purification ceremonies K 2193 p. 9.

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May Thy will be done! The drake [dedicated to] Batara Wisnu; the duck [dedicated to] Batari Sri;
Pecking away the adhering impurities from him who is being purified.[39]

A further reference to the white drake and the cock occurs in the 'Prasasti Pandé', the Codex of the Iron Smiths. Although, according to Hindu concepts, the Iron Smiths were outside the three castes of the twice-born, members of this genealogical group consider themselves as entitled to the making of holy water and even forbidden to ask the *brahman* priest for it. At the conclusion of a ceremony conducted by an *ĕmpu pandé* the drake and the cock perform the same purificatory function as at the conclusion of the ceremony conducted by the *padanda*. An extract from their manual reads:

. . thus are all the *cĕkĕ padudusan* named[40]. Let now drake and cock hungrily peck.
mantra:
to the drake:
Om! Thou, white eagle, peck away one by one the ills and blemishes of him who is being purified;
to the cock:
Om! Thou who peck'st away the impurities and blemishes of him who is being purified;
sam bam tam am im[41].

As a final example I cite from a text which deals with the elaborate ritual of the purificatory festival Pancha Bali Krama –

to the drake:
Om! Thou, Garuda[42]. He who is being purified dwells in the North-west;*
Peck away the defilements from him who is being purified; om um nam[43] nama swaha;
Take away the defilements from him who is being purified;
Fly off to the sea with these defilements;
There these impurities will be dissolved;
om am ksama-sampurna ya namah swaha[43].

* the Kingdom of the Dead[43]

[39] *sĕkĕ-kandĕhanira sang dumaksan* the same phrase; not included in the Kawi-Balinesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, but occurring in *Dharma Pacaygangan* K 1610 I. 16a.

[40] *Prasasti Pandé* K. 2404 I. 46a; also in a mimeographed edition, 'translated' by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, Balimas, Denpasar, 1958, pp. 45–46.

[41] The magical *panĕlkasara*, five letters. Cf. R. Goris, *Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Oud Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, 1926. Cf. also Wolfgang Week, *Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali* Stuttgart, 1937.

[42] *Pam Pancha Bali Krama*, K. 1186 I. 11a.

[43] In accordance with the orientation of the cardinal points in North Bali, as this text is from that area.

[44] The *tegakpara*, the three letters symbolizing the three principal deities, Brahma, Wisnu, and Iswara; Cf. Goris and Week supra.

[45] Complete forgiveness, hail, hail!

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*783 to the cock
788 Om! Thou, Kundi-raksa! Let it be thy task to peck away and fly off to the sea
with the afflictions and the blemishes of him who is being purified;
539 There these defilements will be dissolved;
om am ksama-sampurna ya namah swaha.

114 Although the women assistants who carry the duck and the cock do
788 not recite any *mantras* I have quoted the material I have found in the various texts, for it is not often that the purpose of a Balinese offering is so clearly indicated.

776 The drake and the cock are dedicated to the gods of the four directions
778 and they are identified with Garuda, the 'vehicle' of Wisnu. The function
825 of the birds is to peck away the *mala-pataka* (sins and impurities – but in this instance in a ritual sense rather than in a moral sense).

*783 I have also seen the purificatory ritual with the drake and the cock
[585] at domestic ceremonies *(manusa-yadnya)*, such as marriage ceremonies,
778 and the *nĕlu bulanin*. The birds are brought to the *padanda*. On one
825 occasion I saw one of the birds actually eating the rice grains which had been placed on the arms of the bride.

A drake or cock which has pecked away the impurities from a child at the *nĕlu bulanin* is not – except from absolute necessity – killed by the parents for eating. The bird may never be given away, and if the child becomes attached to the bird it is regarded more or less as his own property, or rather as his personal 'scapegoat', a repository for his ritual impurities. When the bird dies it must be buried [46].

At ceremonies held for the purification of a person the duck and the cock are wafted *(atabin)* at the person being purified.

This completes the description of the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* and the manner in which these objects are used, and the interpretation of their significance.

*783 To conclude I give the description, as it was given to me, of a mask
536 play which sometimes terminates those temple festivals where the purificatory ritual discussed above – the preparation of holy water by a *padanda*, the performance of the *wayang lĕmah*, and the use of the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* – takes place. The mask play, performed by a single player wearing a Kala mask called *tapĕl pajègan* [47] or *siddhi-karya* (the succes of the ceremony) is the story of Kala who devoured mortals by the thousands at the crossroads. The climactic point is reached when the performer seizes a child from the audience as if he were going to devour it. Frightened, the child begins to cry, and is then ransomed for a few *kèpèngs*. By this means Kala's power is broken and the purpose of the ceremony is achieved.

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[46] Cf. my paper 'The Changeling in Balinese Folklore and Religion', BKI 116/4, 1960, pp. 424–436.

[47] *Tapĕl pajègan* or *topèng pajègan*, 23 march–1 may 1961 exhibited in Gemeente Museum, The Hague, cf. guide 'De Kunst van Bali, verleden en heden' No. 145.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

[F. 40 is blank]

[P. 39]

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Offering maker with *lis*.

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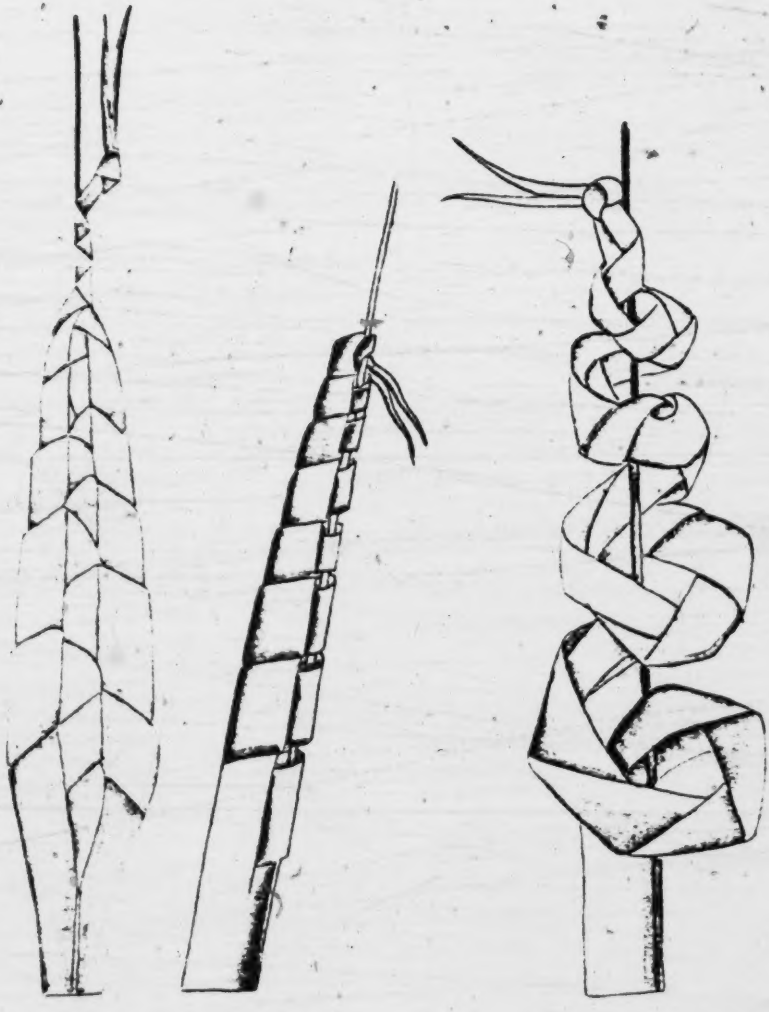

1. *tangkar* 2. *iga* 3. *basang tedjah*

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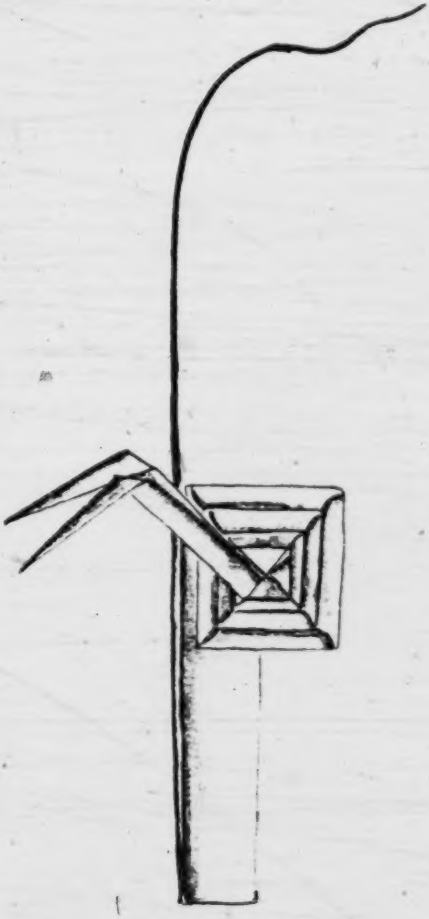
4. *basang nguda*



5. *pungsĕd*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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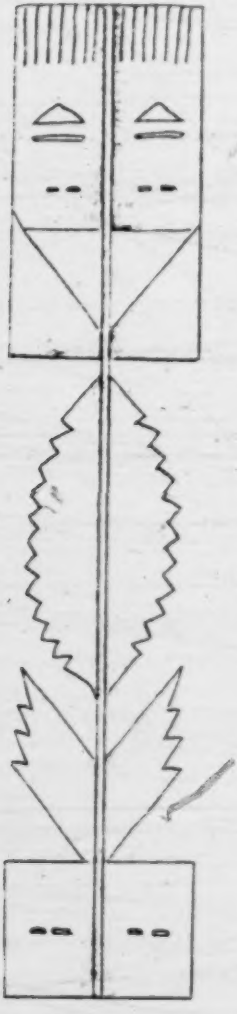
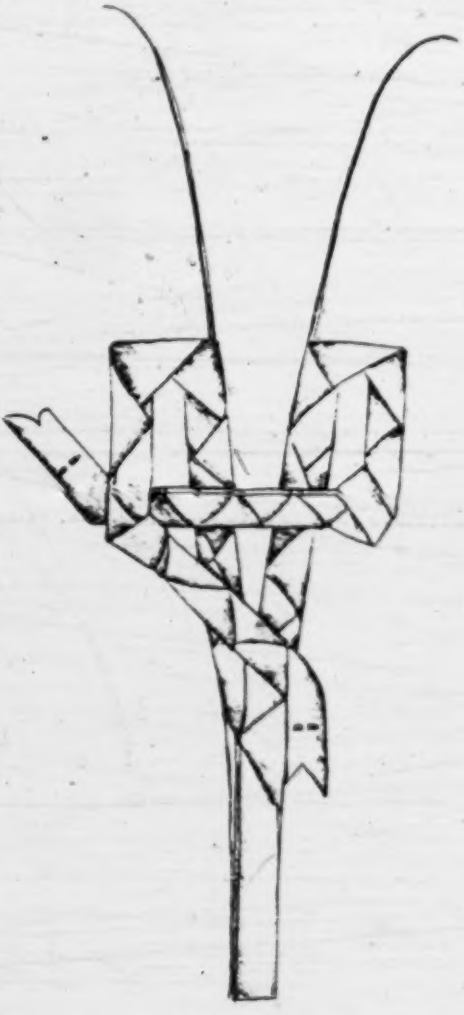


6. *ati*



9. *tangan*

8: Hooykaas E-5- (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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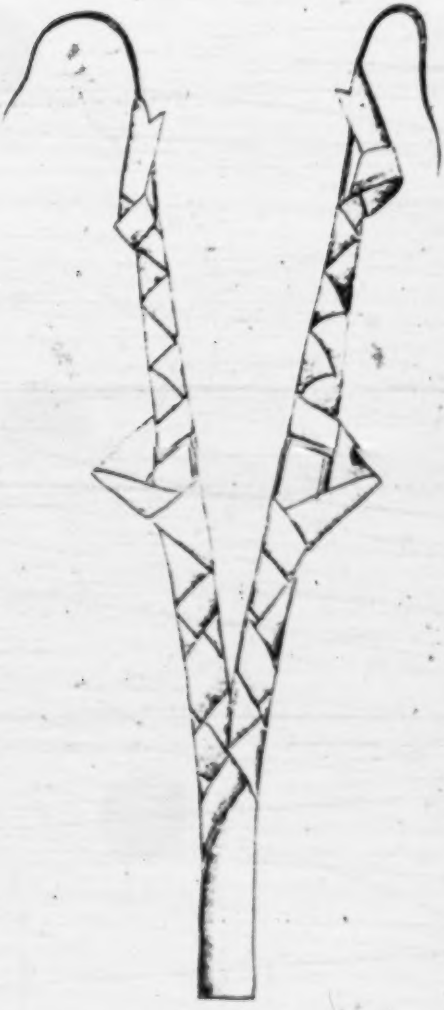

10. *ɛntud*

11. *tulang giɲiŋ*

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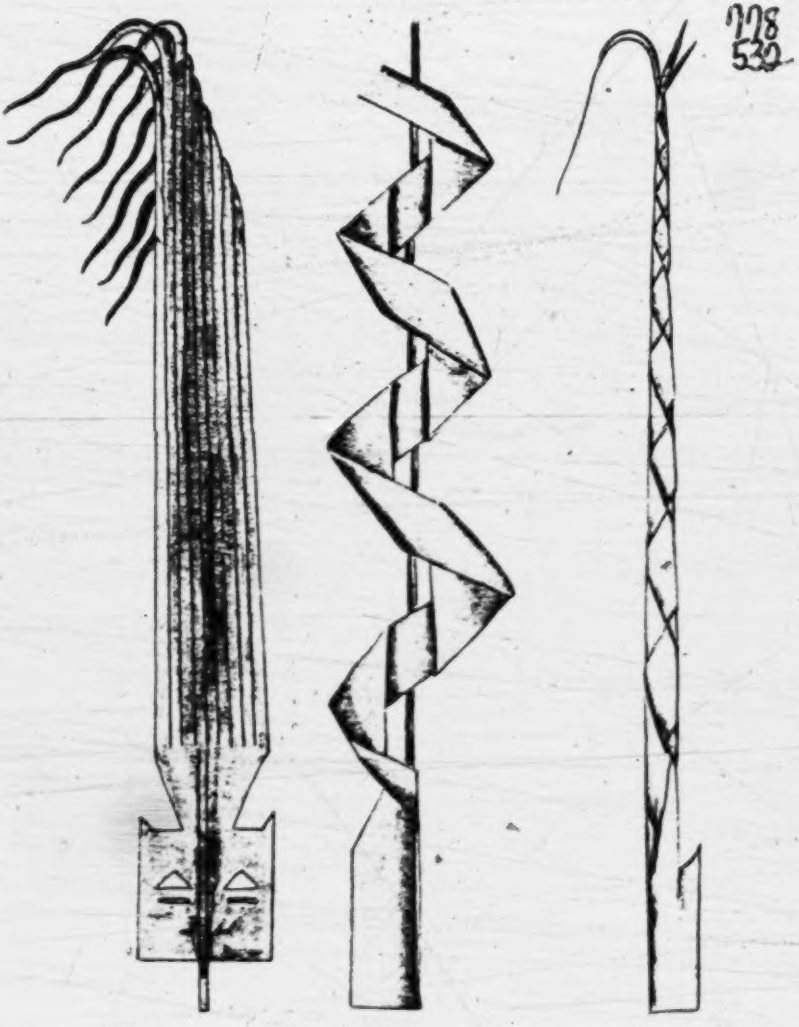

12. *tënggëk* 13. *lawat bwah* 15. *lilit linting*

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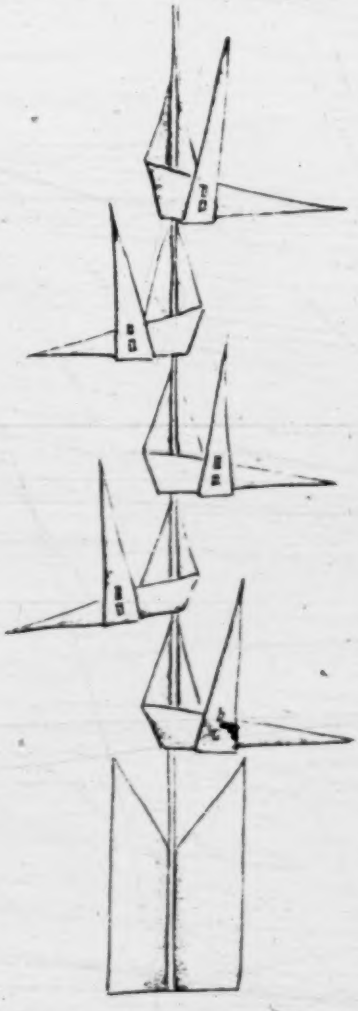
16. *inĕb*



17. *tangga ménèk*

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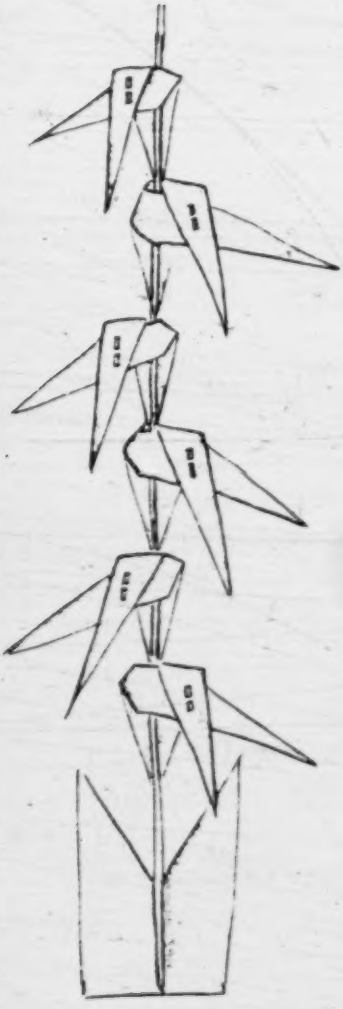
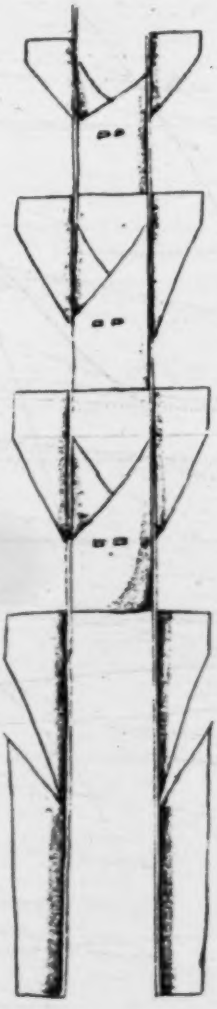


18. *tangga tukun*



19. *jahan*

20. *balung*

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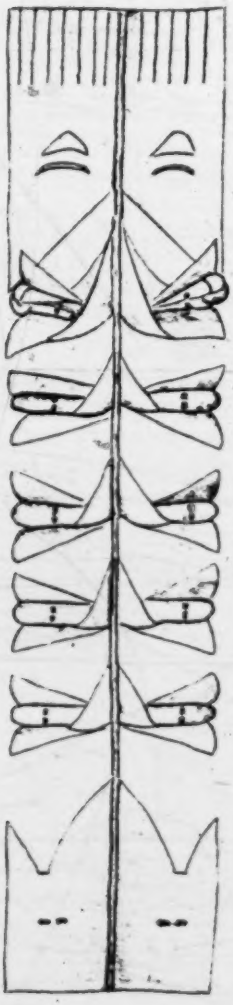
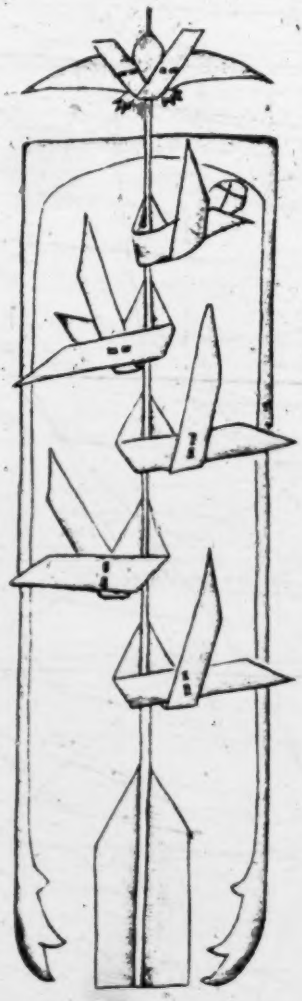


21. *anchak*



22. *bingin*

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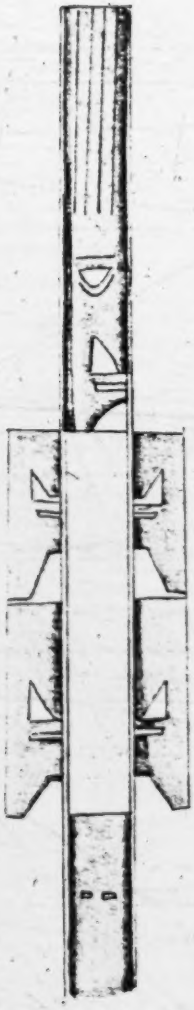

23. *sapuh*

24. *panulak sĕnjata*

25. *kayu tulak*

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26. *kayu slisih*

27. *ambĕngan*

28. *padang lĕpas*

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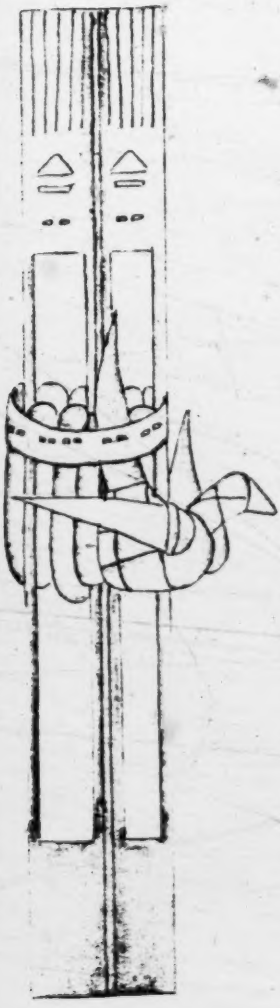
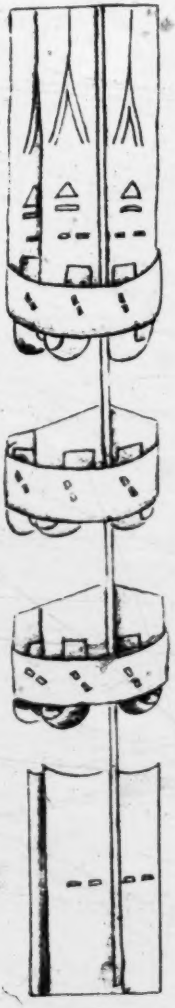
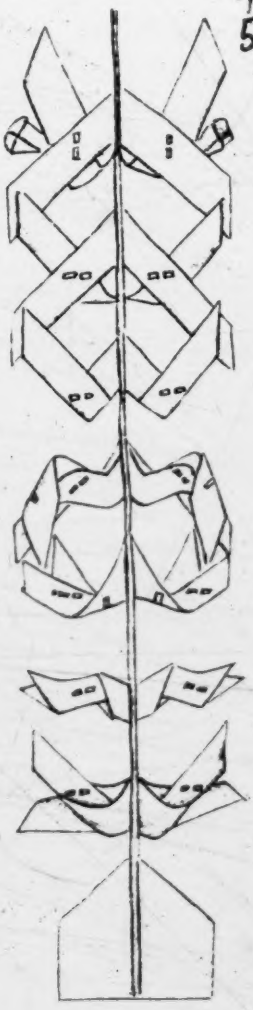


29. *kakurungan*



30. *tulung*



31. *lad sumbah*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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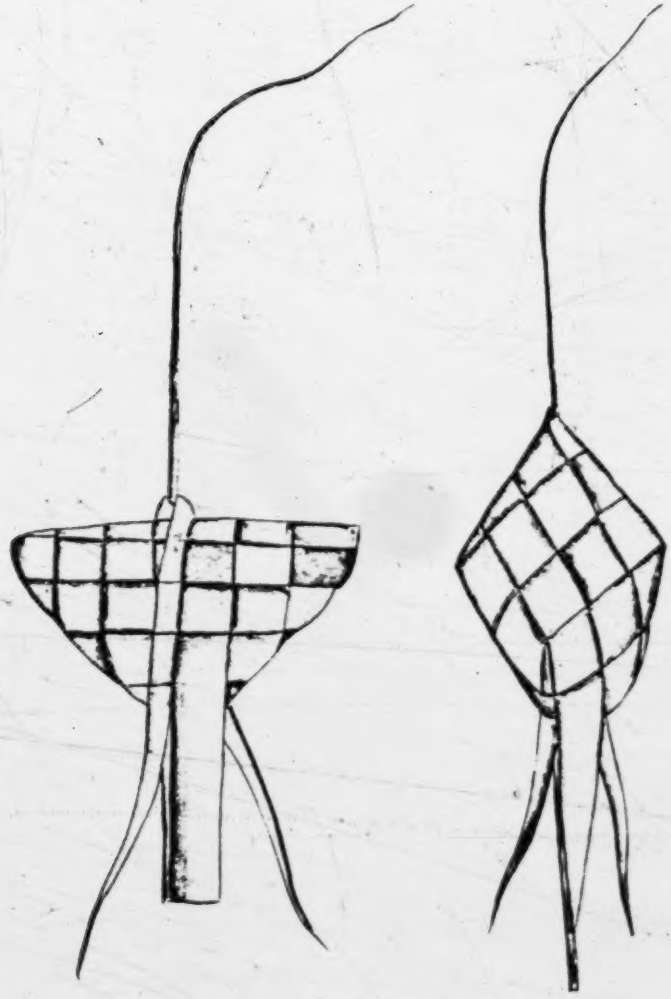

33. *tipat tulud* 34. *tipat pusuh*

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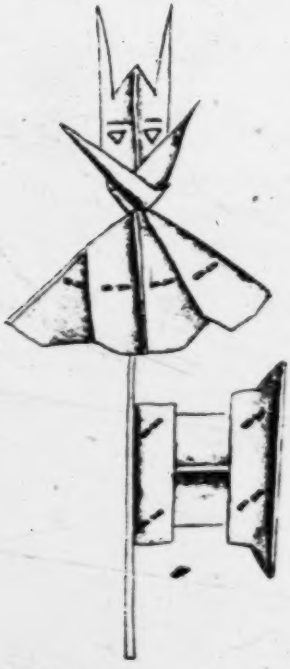
36. *kambèn bètèn*



42. *dingding* (below) 43. *payung* (above)

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44. *balé gading*

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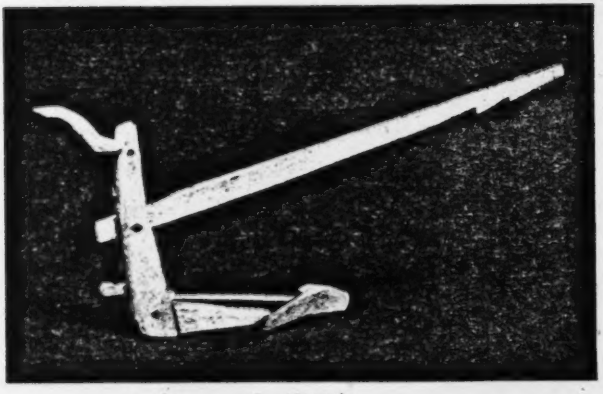
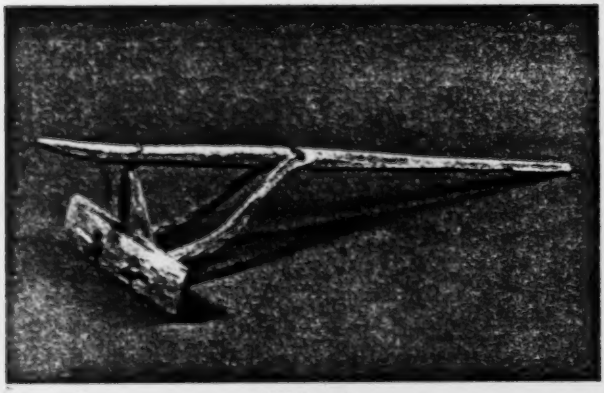


1. *tĕngoala*



2. *lampit*

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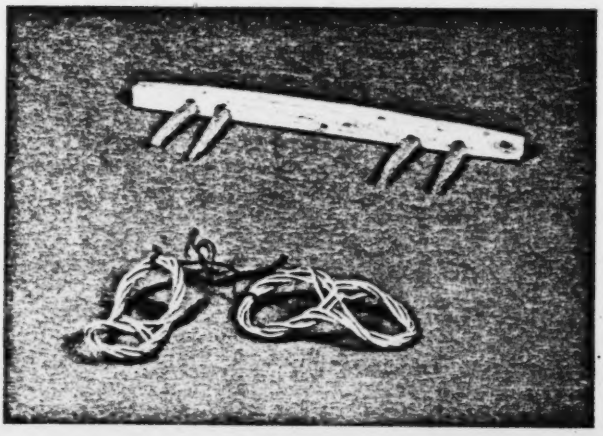

3. *uga*

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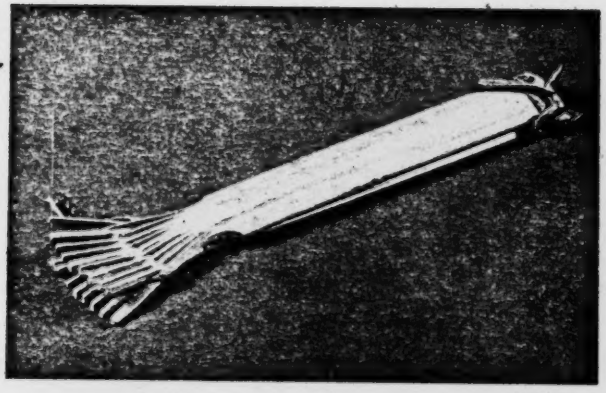

5. *sĕpit*

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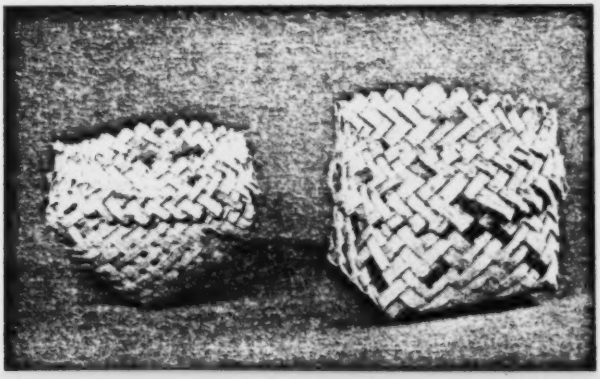

6. *kuskusan* 7. *sok suda-mala*

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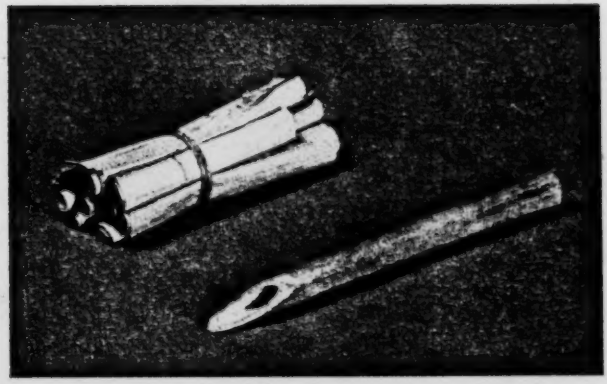

8. *sèmprong* (below)

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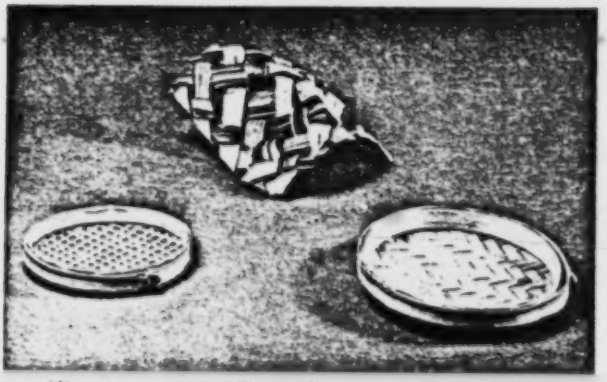

9. *sidi* 10. *tikĕh* 11. *ngyu*

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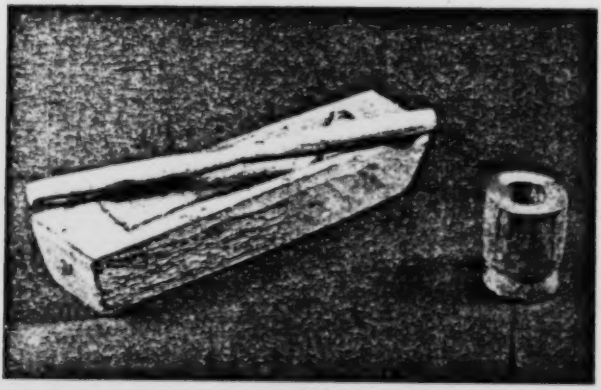

12. *lĕsung* 13. *luŭu* 14. *kĕtung*

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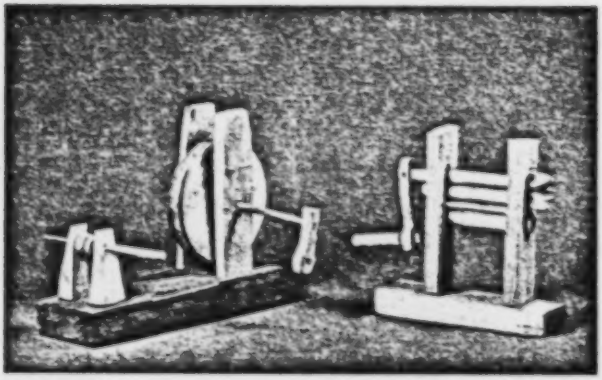
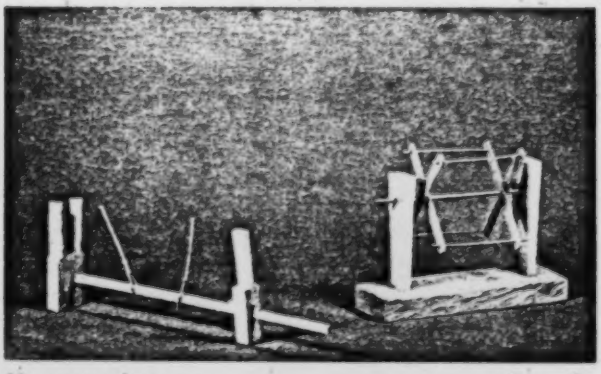


15. *yantra* 16. *pami(a)pisan*



18. *panganyinan* 17. *undar*

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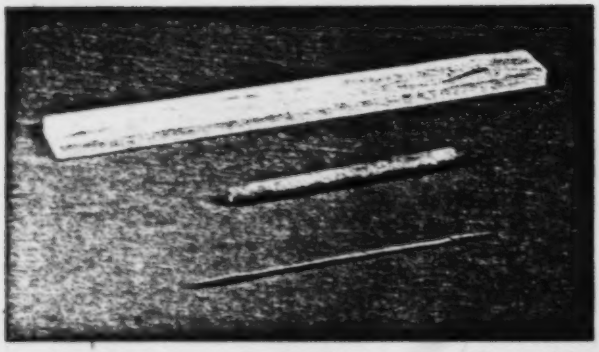
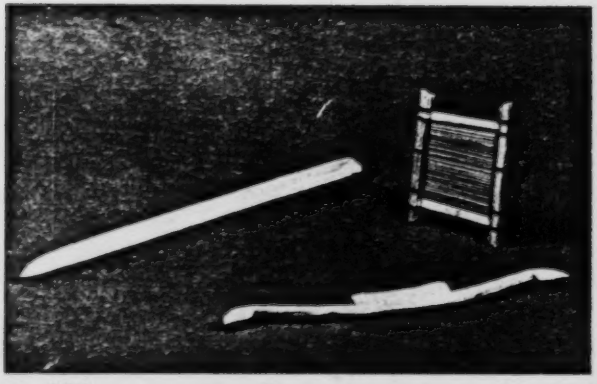


19. *if(ar)iring* 20. *bung-bungan* 21. *pandalan*



22. *bĕlida* 23. *por* 24. *sĕrat*

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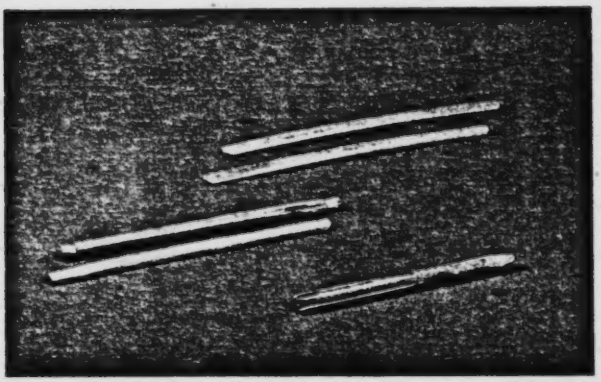

25. *sĕlĕran* 26. *apit* 27. *tunak*

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28. *kulkul*

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29. *ganchan*

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33. *choblong or chèblèng* 33. *choblong or chèblèng*

34. *payuk*
with 35. *kèkèb*

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34. *payuk* 71. *kumba charatan*
35. *kĕkĕb* *manyonyo abĕsik* 34. *payuk* 34. *payuk*

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38. *kĕrĕm* 39. *pĕlita* 33. *choblong or chĕblĕng*

43. *pasĕpan covered by* 44. *papijitan*
35. *kĕkĕb*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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36. *pulu* 36. *pulu* 37. *kakurungan*

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40. *lumbung or jinéng* 41. *panjéněng* 42. *kuwak or tuwak*

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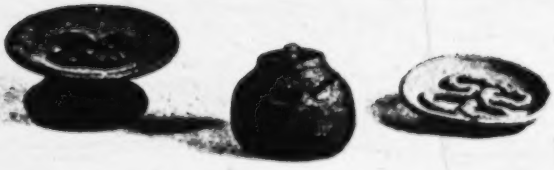
45. *kĕladi* 46. *panyémbéyan* 47. *pabrèsihan*

[815]



48. *pabrèsihan* 49. *chèlèngan* 50. *tangkar iga*

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51. *tangkar iga*

52. *mimi* or *mimi mintuna*

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53. *pras*

54. *Unknown*

55. *padang lĕpas*

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56. *siképan*

57. *designation unknown*

58. *lilit linting*

59. *kuwak/tuwak? balé gading?*

60. *tumpéng*

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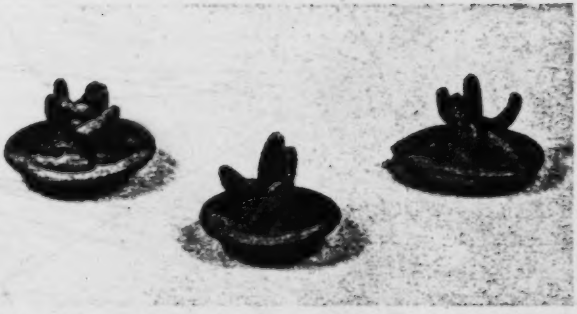
61. *unknown* 62. *padang gagulung* 63. *bagya or bingin*



64. *anchak* 65. *kuwĕk or tuwĕk* 66. *balé gading*

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67. *rarakitan (r)akit lalima* 68. *rarakitan (r)akit tĕlu* 69. *rarakitan (r)akit patpat* 70. *ubi*

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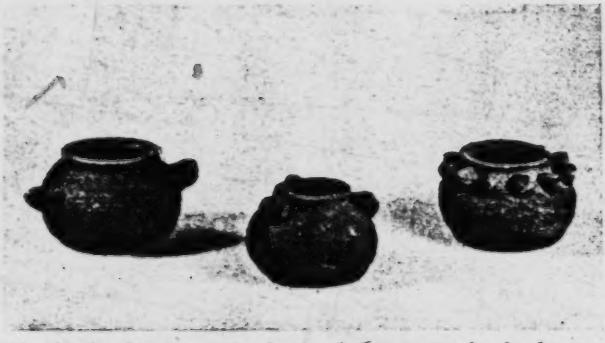

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75. *kumba charatan manyonyo siya*

79. *kumba charatan manyonyo pitu*

76. *kumba charatan manyonyo akutus*

77. *kumba charatan manyonyo patpat*

78. *kumba charatan manyonyo lima*

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(naga)-pasa, snake-arrow, 13, 29
'Nagasari-tree,' 'Upon a White Stone under a', 14n
nawa-sanga, nine (Sanskrit)-nine (Javanese), system of 9 gods, 8 of them in the 8 main directions of the compass, the principal one in the centre; or: disposition of the One God and His 8 manifestations; 6, 13, 18, 29, 32, 34
nelu-bulanin (nigang-sasihin) festival for baby old 3 months of 35 days, 14, 25, 29, 36, 38
Nétanan, name of village near Ubud, 27
Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO), the Hague, 3
ngaben, funerary ritual, 29
ngubi, young, 7
ngyu, winnow, 26, *62*
nuhun pada, funerary ceremony, 36
nyuh, coconut, 6n, 7
nyuh bulan, moon coconut, 34

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nyuh gading, ivory coconut, 34
nyuh mulung, black coconut, 34
nyuh udang, prawn coconut, 34

odalan, temple festivity, 29, 36
Oriental Institute, Baroda, 16
otonan, birthday celebration, 29
'Oudjavaansche Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den Wenschboom', 23
'Over Maleise Literatuur', 28

pa-bĕčah-an, (substances for the) toilet making (of the gods), 28, 69
pada-nda or *pĕda-nda*, brahman priest, 6, 13, 16, 19, 24 25, 31 32, 36 38
padang gagulung, rolled up grass stalks, 30, 31, *72*
padang lĕpas, grass stalks, 9, 10, 29, 31, *52*, *70*
Padang Tĕgal, village next to Ubud, 36
padma, lotus, 13
pafdahdus-an, purification, 5, 25
Pahuluan Agung, Great Lustration, 32
Pajangan, district centre uphill from Ubud, 5n
palinggihan, 'seat', 9
palinggihan Dèwa-Dèwi, 'seat' of Sun-God & his Sakti, 9
pa-lukat-an, lustration, 25
pamangku or *pĕmangku*, temple- or folk priest, 13n, 14 15, 18, 21, 24 26, 28 29
pamu(a)pasan, instrument for separating the seeds from raw cotton, 26, *63*
pañcĕksara, five letter ra, 37n
Pancha Bali Krama, a purificatory festival, 37
pandalan, bobbin, 27, *64*
Panĕstanan, village near Ubud, 27
pang-angin-an, warp-frame, 26, *63*
pang-lukat-an, purification, 33
pan jĕnèng, a kind of offering, 28, 29, *68*
panton, Malay quatrain, 28
panulak manjata, 'protection against weapons', 9, *51*
pangdak'gan, lamp, 28, *69*
pa-pijit-an, bowl with massage lotions (for the gods), 28, *67*
pa-pusuh-an, *pusuh*, *pungèl*, navel, 7, 10, 16, *11*, *54*
'Paradise on Earth in LAnkA', 23
parama, highest
par-hyang-an, abode of the gods, sanctuary, temple, 15.
pasu or *naga-pasu*, snake-arrow, 13, 29
pa-sumuha-n, coming together, 24
p-asĕp-an, brazier, 28, *67*
pataka, 'what makes one fall into hell', sin, 38
pa-wida-an, recitation of *wédas*, 24
payuk, cooking pot, 27, *66*, *67*
payung, parasol, 11, *55*
pĕhuku or *buku*, *lis isuk-isuk*, considerably simplified, 6, 34
pĕdanda, cf. *pedanda*, brahman priest
pĕlita, oil lamp, 28, *67*
pĕmangku, cf. *pamangku*, temple or folk priest
pĕnĕrbit, publishing firm, 15
pĕngantèn, bridegroom, 12
pènjor, decorated bamboo pole, 11, 12
Pidada, Ida Bagus, 3
Pigeaud, Dr. Th., 33n, 35n
pinang, a kind of pal, 27, 35
plawa, small, stiff brush, 32, 34
Poerbatjaraka, Prof. Dr. R. M. Ng., 12n
por, weaver's yoke, 27, *64*
Pott, Dr. P. H., 29
'Pre-Muslims Huwelijk op Java', 12n
prau, name of an offering, 29, *70*
'Prasasti Pandé', Codex of the Iron Smiths, 37
Prijono, Prof. Dr. R., 3
prĕpoh, mystic letters, 9
puja, worship, ceremony, 32
'Puja Pancha Bali Krama', a religious ceremony, 37n
pulu, container for hulled rice, 27, *68*
pungèl, navel, cf. *(pa)pusuh(an)*, 7, 10, 16, *11*, *54*
'Purana', Old Writing, 15
'Purwa Bumi Kamulan', name of a *mantra*, 33
Pustaka Balimas, a publishing firm, 15, 37
pusuh, *pa-pusuh-an*, *pungèl*, navel, 7, 10, 16, *11*, *54*

rafitya & *aditya*, sun, 18
raga, body, manifestation, 9
'RAmAyana', Old-Javanese poem, 23
ra-rakit-an, stalk(s) in flat bowl, 31, *73*
Ratih, goddess of love, 37
rimbigu, *kapuk mĕn-duri*, thorned wild cotton, 10
rsi bhujangga or *sèngguhu*, exorcist priest, 13n, 33n

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rice goddess, 11
riddle, posed to Kala, 33
ron or *don*, leaves, 9
Rudra, name of a god, 13
ruwat or *lukat*, exorcising or purifying, 25, 32, 33

sabuk, waistband, 11
sakti, energy, power, 7, 9, 12, 13n, 29n
salaran, kind of offering, 28, 35 36
Sambu, name of a god, 13
Sang Janur Kuning, Lord Yellow-Green, 5, 17–18, 20, 22 23
sanggah or *sanggar*, shrine, 12
sanggah pĕngantèn, nuptial shrine, 12
sanging, hanging branch roots, 9
Sangka, Gusti Ngurah Ketut, 3
Sangkara, name of a god, 13
'Sangkul Pingé' (white conch), 15
'Sangkul Putih' (white conch), 15
Sanglah, village S of Denpasar, 3
sanjata or *sĕnjata*, *sikĕpan*, 'weapons' or emblems of the gods, 6, 13, 27, 29, *71*
'Sanskrit Texts from Bali', 16–17, 19, 21
sapasap, offerings cut out of palmleaf, 27
sapta-wĕrdi (rddhi), the seven objects of growth, 21
sapuh, broom, 6n, 9, *51*
sasab, face, 11
sasapi, swallow, 6n, 8, 9
saté, pieces of meat roasted on a skewer, 35
Schwartz, H. J. E. F., 5
School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS), London, 3
Séla Madĕg, village of Tabanan, 33n
sélèran, slats for arranging the pattern to be woven, 27, *65*
sémbah or *sumbah*, posture of obeisance, 10, 11, *53*
sémprong, blowing pipe, 26, *61*
séngguhu or *rĕsi bhujangga*, exorcist priest, 13n, 33n
séngguhu-an, compound of the *séngguhu*, 13n
sĕnjata, cf *sanjata*
sĕpit, fire tongs, 26, *60*
sérat, weaving reed, 27, *64*
'Serpent Power', 7
sésarik, cosmetic/medicine, 28
Sésèh, name of a place, 18
sidi, sieve, 26, *62*
siddhi-karya, success of the ceremony; 38
sikĕpan or *sanjata*, emblems ('weapons') of the gods, 6, 13, 27, 29, *71*
Singaradja, 3, 15, 20
sirih, leaves, for ritual purposes, 5
Sivananda, Swami, 8n
Siwa, name of the principal god in his benevolent manifestation, 5, 12, 16–22, 32 34.
'Siwa-Buda', 15
Siwaite, 14, 17
Siwa-Sakti, 7, 12
slasih, *kayu slasih*, sort of tree, 9, 32
sloka, Sanskrit verse consisting of 4 × 8 syllables, 21
'Smara-dahana', 12
SOAS, School of Oriental & African Studies, London, 3
sok, basket, 26, *61*
spelling, 3
Spies, Walter, 18
Sri, goddess of the rice, 33, 35, 37
suchi or *sutji*, purified, holy, 15
suda, cleansed, 12
suda-mala, cleansed of impurity, 12, 26 27, 34, *61*
sudra, belongs to the lowest of the four Hindu castes, 14
Sugriwa, Ida Bagus, 37n
sula or *tri-sula*, trident, 13
sumbah or *sémbah*, posture of obeisance, 10, 11, *53*
Surya, Sun, name of principal deity, 36
Surya-sivasna, cult of the sungod (Siwa), 17
Swami Sivananda, 8n
Swellengrebel, Dr. J. L., 5n, 6–7, 13n, 14n, 23n, 27n, 29n, 31 32

Tabanan, province and its capital, 3, 15, 33n
talaga, lake, pond, 14n
talinga, ear, 16
talinga n pangengeh, 16
tangan, (two) arms, 7, *45*
tangga, stairway, 8, 18, *48–49*
tangga mĕnèk, ascending stairway, 8, 16, *48*
tangga tuhun, descending stairway, 8, 16, *49*
tangkar, breastbone, 7, *43*
tangkar iga, breast bone with ribs, 28, 31, *69–70*
tantric, 7, 12, 30
'Tantu Panggĕlaran', 33n, 35

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tapël, insek, 38
tapël pujégan, 38
taru, trée, 20
t'gtég, offering of thread, 5 6, 16, 19
témpèh, plaited tray, 34 36
tènggala, plough, 26, *59*
tènggèk, neck, 7, *47*
tépung tawar (*isuh-isuh*), consists of *dapdap* leaves, ashes & rice, 5, 20, 28
'Theologie, Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche', 37n
theosophie, 8
thread *(bènang)*, 10, 32, 35
tikèh, mat, 26, *62*
timpal lis, companion of the lis, cf. *balé gedong*
'Tingkah (ing)', method , manual for, 15
'tipat, small parcel woven from bamboo strips, 10, 12, 14, 35, *51*
'tipat lépas, purification *'tipat*, 12
'tipat luh, female *'tipat*, 12
'tipat muwani, male *'tipat*, 12
'tipat pasuk, towel *'tipat*, 10, *51*
'tipat tulud, sweeping *'tipat*, 10, 14, *54*
tirta, holy water, 10
Tirtaamidjaja, R. I., 3; his photo of the *lis*, *11*
Tirtokusumo, R. Soedjono, 30
tlapakan, footsole, 10
'Totenkult auf Bali, Der', 36n
tredatu, three elements (gods), 10, 32
tri-mala, three impurities, 18
tri-sula, or *sula*, trident, 13
tri-aksara, three letters, 37n
tuhun, descending, 8
tukang tantèn, (female) maker of offerings, 6, 12 13, *41*
tulak, *panulak*, protection, 9
tulang gaking, spine, 7, *46*
tulud, piece of wood for sweeping away refuse, 10, 14, 16, *51*
tulung, ? 10, *53*
tumpéng, cone-shaped pile of rice, 30, *71*
tunak, spindle holder, 27, *65*
Tunk, Dr. H. N. van der, 15, 18, 26
tuwak tuwak, palmwine, 28, 30, *68*, *71*, *72*
'Twins in Bali, A Study of Customs pertaining to', 32

ubi, edible root, 28, 31, *73*
Ubud, village uphill from Gianjar, 3, 5-6, 23, 27, 29, 36
uga, plough yoke, 26, *60*
Uma, principal goddess in benevolent shape, 33
undar, thread-winder, 26, *63*
'Usana', History, 15
uwat, muscles, 9

Van der Tuuk, Dr. H. N., 15, 18, 26
Van Eerde, Prof. J. C., 9
'Vorstenwijding op Bali', 5, 6n, 7n, 13n, 14n, 23n, 27n, 29n, 31-32

wadak basang, belly, (7 8), 16, *(43-44)*
'Wajang Koelit and its Music, The Balinese', 24
waringin or *bingin*, 'wishing tree', 9, 15, 30
wayah, old, 7, *43*
wayang, shadow (play), 24 25, 32
wayang kulit, shadow play with flat leather puppets, 24
wayang lémah, 'shadow play during the day', 24 26, 35 38
wayang péténg, 'shadow play during the night', 24 25
Weck, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang, 37n
wéda, Sanskrit song in praise of the gods, 13n
'Wéda Purwaka', Buddh. manual for ritual, 36
wésya, third of the Hindu castes, 32, 36
'White Stone under a Nagasari tree, Upon a', 14n
widiadari, heavenly nymph, 11
Wirz, Dr. Paul, 36n
wishing tree, 22 23
Wisnu, name of a god, 13, 16, 22, 29, 32, 34 38
woh or *buah*, fruit, 9

yadnya, offering, 27
'Yama-tattwa', 18
Yamin, Prof. Hadji Muhammad, 3
yantra, means for concentration of thought; spinning wheel, 8, 26, *63*
'Yoga en Yantra in hunne betekenis voor de Indische Archaeologie', 29

Zoete, Beryl de, 18
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